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# TABAKAT-I AKBARI

OF

# NIZAMU-D DIN AHMAD, BAKHSHI

## PART ONE

## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This volume comprises the first part of the history of Akbar's reign which appeared as the eighth article in the Vol. V of the original edition of this work. It was written in Persian under the title of *Tabakat-i Akbari* by Nizamu-d din Ahmad, Bakhshi, and translated into English by the Editor who writes in the Preface as follows :

"Sir Henry Elliot had made no provision for the important reign of Akbar, nor did he leave any notes indicating the MSS. he intended to employ. So it has fallen to the Editor to select and translate some history in illustration of this period. The rule of this work has been to prefer original contemporary writers, or, in the absence of actual contemporaries, those nearest in point of time. This rule reduced the choice to two works—the *Tabakat-i Akbari* of Nizam Ahmad, and the *Akbar-nama* of Abu-l Fazl ; for the *Muntakhabu-l Tawarikh* of Badauni is avowedly founded on the *Tabakat,* and the *Akbar-nama* of Shaikh Illahdad Faizi Sirhindi contains very little that has not been borrowed either from the *Tabakat* or the greater *Akbar-nama* of Abu-l Fazl. The latter work is of considerable length, and is written in a very ornate style ; so the *Tabakat* seemed best suited to the requirements of this work. It has accordingly been translated in full, and only such passages as are trivial and irrelevant have been passed over. The reputation of the *Tabakat-i Akbari* stands very high in India, and European writers also have joined in its praises. As a contemporary history, it is certainly of very high authority, though it does not exhibit much literary ability. The narrative is often disjointed and fragmentary, but the language is manly and simple, and in striking contrast to the polished phrases of Abu-l Fazl. The *Tabakat* extends only to the thirty-eighth year of Akbar's reign ; the history of the latter end of the reign will be drawn from the works of Abu-l Fazl, Shaikh Illahdad, and other writers, and will appear in a subsequent volume."

The concluding portion of the *Tabakat-i Akbari* will appear in the next volume.

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[1] The author of this work styled it *Tabakat-i Akbarshahi*, and it is so called by 'Abu-l Kadir Badauni in his *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh;* but the name by which it is best known in literary circles is *Tabakat-i Akbari*. It is also called, after the name of the author, *Tarikh-i Nizami*, and the author himself observes it as a fortunate coincidence that the word *Nizami* represents the date of its composition. In the *Rauzatu-t Tahirin* it seems to be called *Tarikh-i Sultan Nizami*.

This is one of the most celebrated histories of India, and is the first that was composed upon a new model, in which India alone forms the subject-matter of the work, to the exclusion of the histories of other Asiatic countries. The work seems to have been recognized by all contemporary historians as a standard history; subsequent writers also have held it in the highest estimation, and have borrowed from it freely. Badauni the author of the *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh*, professes his work to be simply an abridgment of this, and acknowledges himself to be chiefly indebted to it for the relation of all events down to A.H. 1002[2] (A.D 1953). Firishta states that of all the histories he consulted, it is the only one he found complete.

The *Ma-asiru-l Umara* says, "This work cost the author much care and reflection in ascertaining facts and collecting materials, and as Mir Ma'sum Bhakari and other persons of note afforded their assistance in the compilation, it is entitled to much credit. It is the first history which contains a detailed account of all the Muhammadan princes of Hindustan...From this work Muhammad Kasim Firishta and others have copiously extracted, and it forms the basis of their histories, deficiencies being supplied by additions of their own; but the *Tabakat* occasionally

[1] *[This article is chiefly the work of Sir H. Elliot, and appeared in the old volume, but it has been re-cast by the Editor, and several additions have been made from Col. Lees' article in Journ. Roy. As. Soc., vol. iv, (N.S.), and from other sources.]*

[2] *The author of the 'Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afaghana' copied the reign of Humayun verbatim.*

seems at variance with the accounts given by the celebrated Abu-l Fazl. It is therefore left to the reader to decide which of the two authors is most entitled to credit."

European authors also hold the work in high esteem. Erskine considers Nizamu-d din to be perhaps the best historian of the period, and Col. Lees is unable to conceive the reason why his work has not attracted more attention.

The *Ma-asiru-l Umara* gives the following account of our author.

Khwaja Nizamu-d din Ahmad was the son of Khwaja Mukim Harawi, who was one of the dependents of His Majesty Babar, and who, at the latter part of the king's reign, was raised to the office of *diwan* of the household.[3] After the death of Babar, when Gujarat was conquered by Humayun, and the province of Ahmadabad was entrusted to Mirza 'Askari, Khwaja Mukim was appointed *wazir* to the Mirza. He accompanied Humayun to Agra, when that monarch fled with precipitation after his defeat by Sher Khan Sur at Chaunsa. The Khwaja subsequently served under Akbar.

His son, Nizamu-d din, was incomparably upright, and excelled all his contemporaries in administrative knowledge, as well as in the clearness of his intellect. It is stated in the *Zakhiratu-l Khawanin*, that at the opening of his career, he was appointed *diwan* of the household by Akbar, but this statement has not been found in any other work.

In the twenty-ninth year of Akbar's reign, when the government of Gujarat was entrusted to 'Itimad Khan, Khwaja Nizamu-d din was appointed to the office of *bakhshi* of that province, and when Sultan Muzaffar of Gujarat engaged in hostilies, 'Itimad Khan left the Khwaja's son, together with his own, to protect the city, he himself with the Khwaja having quitted it, with the object of bringing over Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan from Kari, which is situated at the distance of forty miles from Ahmadabad; but during their absence the city fell into the hands of the insurgents, and the house of the Khwaja was plundered.

[3] *He is spoken of in Babar's Memoirs.*

After this, in a battle which was fought with those turbulent people, the Khwaja used his best exertions to quell the insurrection with his small body of troops, in conjuction with Shahabu-d din Khan and 'Itimad Khan, but without success; and he therefore retreated to Pattan.

On the occasion of (Mirza Khan) the Khan-khanan's attack upon Muzaffar Gujarati, at Bir Ganj, about six miles from Ahmadabad, the Khawja was appointed at the head of a detachment to attack the enemy from the rear, but in this action he again did not achieve any great success, though he used his best exertions. Nizamu-d din continued for a long time *bakhshi* of the province of Gujarat, and his services will be found recorded in his history of Akbar's reign.

In 998 A.H. and the thirty-fourth year of the reign (A.D. 1589-90) when the government of Gujarat was entrusted to Khan-i, 'Azam the Subadar of Malwa, and Jaunpur was bestowed upon Khan-khanan in lieu of his *jagir* of Gujarat, Nizamu-d din Ahmad was summoned to the King's presence; upon which occasion, with a number of camel-riders, he accomplished 1,200 miles by forced marches, and arrived at Lahore[4] on the festival of the thirty-fifth anniversary of the coronation. His camel-riders and retinue being an object of great attraction and wonderment, the King expressed a desire to inspect them; and as he was much gratified at this exhibition of the Khwaja's taste and ingenuity, he conferred great honours upon him.

In the thirty-seventh year of the reign, when Asaf Khan Mirza Ja'far Bakhshi-begi was ordered to destroy Jalala Raushani, the Khwaja was appointed to the post of *bakhshi*. In the thirty-ninth year of the reign, corresponding with 1003 H., when the King was out on a hunting excursion, the Khwaja was attacked with a severe fever at Shaham 'Ali which reduced him very much, His sons obtained permission from the King to convey him to Lahore, but as soon as they arrived at the

[4] *The 'Wakiat-i Mushtaki' (MS. fol. 204 v.) says, that the party completed this distance of 600 kos in twelve days, i.e., at the rate of 100 miles a day.*

banks of the Ravi, the Khwaja expired, and "the crocodile of death dragged him into the sea of annihilation."

'Abid Khan, one of Nizamu-d din's sons, was favoured with frequent marks of distinction by His Majesty Jahangir, and was employed by him in various capacities. The office of *bakhshi* of the *suba* of Gujarat, which devolved on him by hereditary right, was resigned, owing to a disagreement between him and 'Abdu-lla Khan Firoz Jang, governor of that province, by whom he was most shamefully treated. After resigning the appointment, he took only two sheets, the one wrapped round his waist, and the other round his head, as if prepared for burial, and went thus before Jahangir, accompanied by several Takiya Mughals. This mark of his humiliation was approved of by the King, and he was pardoned. He was afterwards appointed an immediate attendant of the King, through the recommendation of the heir-apparent, and was subsequently promoted to the office of *diwan* of that prince. While holding this employment, he, with Sharif Khan Bakhshi, and several others of the body-guard, was killed at Akbar-nagar in Bengal, in a battle fought by the prince on the burial-ground where the body of the son of Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang was interred. 'Abid Khan had no son. His son-in-law, Muhammad Sharif, was for a short time governor of a strong fortress in the Dekhin, and was afterwards appointed *hajib* (chamberlain) of Hyderabad, in which capacity he passed the remainder of his days till his death.[5]

Abdu-l Kadir Badauni, who, like many others, was as staunch a friend as he was a bitter foe, gives a very favourable account of Nizamu-d din. He says that in carrying into effect his projects of economy, Nizamu-d din gave offence to Kalij Khan, but that he received such unqualified support from the Emperor, who entertained the highest opinion of his zeal and integrity, that his opponent, together with his adherents, were soon provided for in distant posts, instead of being kept at Court, to frustrate the endeavours of Nizamu-d din to introduce reform into the departments under his control.

[5] *Ma-asiru-l Umara, s. v. Khwaja Nizamu-d din.*

"Nizamu-d din," continues 'Abdu-l Kadir, "left a good name behind him. I was especially attached to him by the ties both of religion and friendship. When he dried, tears of sorrow fell from my eyes, and I beat my breast with the stone of despair. After a short time, I bowed in resignation to the heavenly decree, but was so much afflicted by the bereavement, that I vowed I would never thereafter cultivate a new friendship with any other man. He died on the 23rd of Safar, 1003, and was buried in his own garden at Lahore. There was not a dry eye at his death, and there was no person who did not, on the day of his funeral, call to mind his excellent qualities, and who did not hold between his teeth the back of the hand of grief. The following Chronogram records the date of his death ; Mirza Nirzamu-d din has departed ; in haste, but with honour, has he gone to his final doom. His sublime soul has fled to the celestial regions, and Kadiri has found the date of his death in these words, 'A jewel without price has left this world.' "[6]

The author of the *Tabakat-i Akbari* assigns as his reasons for composing his work, that he had, "from his youth, according to the advice of his father, devoted himself to the study of works of history, which are the means of strenghthening the understanding of men of education, and of affording instruction by examples to men of observation." He found that in "the wide plains of Hindustan, which form an empire of vast extent," the "governing classes had assumed the title and discharged the duties of rulers" in many of its divisions, "such as Delhi, Gujarat, Malwa, Bengal, and Sindh," and "the authors of their times have written histories of their affairs, and have bequeathed them as memorials to posterity...... It is most extraordinary, therefore, that not a single work containing a complete compendium of the affairs of this (entire) division (of the world) has yet been written by any historian ; neither have the events connected with the centre of Hindustan, the seat of government of this Empire,

[6] *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh. (Abu-l Fazl also, in the Akbar-nama, alludes to tht general mourning that followed the death of this distinguished author ; and says that the Emperor was deeply affected by it, and offered prayers for his soul.)*

the capital Delhi, been collected in one book. The work which is best known is the *Tabakat-i Nasiri* which Minhaju-s Siraj compiled, commencing with Sultan Mu'izzud din Ghori, and concluding with Nasiru-d din bin Shamsu-d din : from thence to the time of Sultan Firoz is written in the history of Zia-i Barni ; but from that time to to-day, because for the greater portion of the time there was much disturbance in India, and the people had the misfortune to be deprived of a powerful Imperial government, I have only met with a few detached and incomplete compilations. I have not heard of a single history that comprises an account of the whole of India ; and now since the whole of the inlying and outlying provinces of Hindustan have been conquered by the world-subduing sword of God's vicegerent, and all the fractions of the earth have been united in one grand whole, and many kingdoms beyond the confines of Hindustan, which none of the great sovereigns who preceded His Majesty had ever acquired, have been included in his Empire, and it is to be hoped that the seven climes will yet come under the shade of the standard of the good fortune of that illustrious personage, and thus be protected and secure peace and prosperity. I conceived the idea of compiling, in a simple style, a history which should embrace an account of all the kingdoms of Hindustan, from the times of Subuktigin, 367 A.H. (which is the date of the introduction of *Islam* into Hindustan), up to 1001 A.H. or the thirty-seventh year of the Illahi era, dividing it into chapters, according to the several dynasties which reigned, closing each chapter with an account of the conquest by His Imperial Highness of the particular province under notice. This abridgment of all the victories of His Imperial Highness will be given in the proper place ; the account of these victories in full detail being found in the *Akbar-nama,* which *'Allami* Abu-l Fazal has compiled with so much ability."[7] He quotes twenty-nine different works as his standard authorities, and in the instance of the *Tarikh-i Mubarak-Shahi* he copied his original very closely. Though he states in his Preface, as above, that he brings down

[7] *Col. Less, Journ, Roy, As, Soc, vol. iii.* (N.S.) *p. 450.*

the history to the thirty-seventh year of Akbar's region (A.H. 1001), in the body of the work he records the events of another year, and expresses a hope that he may live to carry on the work to a later period.

Nizamu-d din was a good Musulman, and no allusion is made in his pages to Akbar's wanderings from the fold. But with the information derivable from other sources a tolerably accurate inference may be drawn from the gradual diminution and eventual cessation of the records of Akbar's pilgrimages to the tombs of the saints.

Sir H. Elliot adopted the Table of Contents given by Stewart in his Catalogue of Tipu Sultan's Library, although he found that it contained both more and less than he had seen in other copies. The following table is borrowed from Morley, who had the advantage of several MSS. to compare. It agrees, as he says, with the author's own account of the contents in his introduction, and the only difference found is in the order of sequence of the books.

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Introduction—History of the Ghaznivides from the time of Subuktigin to that of Khusru Malik bin Khusru Shah, King of Lahore, who was conquered by Shahabu-d din Muhammad Ghori in A.H. 583 (A.D. 1187), and was subsequently put to death by his order.

Book I.—History of the Kings of Delhi from the time of Shahabu-d din Muhammad Ghori ; comprising : The History of Kutubu-d din Aibak ; Taju-d din Yalduz ; Nasiru-d din Kubacha; Bahau-d din Tughril ; The first four Khilji Princes of Lakhnauti ; Sultan Shamsu-d din Altamsh ; Aram Shah and his successors at Delhi ; The house of Tughlik ; The Saiyids ; The Afghan Kings of Delhi, from Bahlol Lodi to the defeat of Ibrahim, son of Sikandar Lodi, by Babar, in A.H. 932 (A.D. 1525) ; Babar ; Humayun ; Sher Shah (who expelled Humayun), and his successors to the extinction of the Afghan power at Delhi, and Akbar's

succession to the throne, continuing the history of Hindustan to the thirty-eighth year of Akbar's reign, 1002 A.H. (A.D. 1593).

Book II.—A concise history of the Kings of the Dekhin, comprising : The Bahmani dynasty, from 'Alau-d din Hasan, who founded the monarchy in A.H. 748 (A.D. 1347), to its extinction in A.H. 935 (A.D. 1528) ; The Nizam-shahi Kings of the Bahri dynasty of Ahmadnagar, from the foundation of the monarchy to A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590), when Burhan Nizam Shah was still reigning ; The 'Adil-shahi Kings of Bijapur, from the origin of the dynasty to A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), when Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II, was on the throne ; The Kùtbu-l Mulkiya Kings of Golconda, from their origin to A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), when Muhammad Kuli Kutb Shah was regnant.

Book III.—The history of the Kings of Gujarat, from the beginning of A.H. 793 (A.D. 1390), to A.H. 980 (A.D. 1572), when that kingdom became a province of Akbar's empire.

Book IV.—The history of Malwa, from A.H. 809 (A.D. 1406), to its incorporation with the kingdom of Gujarat in A.H. 937 (A.D. 1530) ; and a continuation of the history to A.H. 977 (A.D. 1569), when Baz Bahadur submitted to Akbar after a reign of sixteen years.

Book V.—History of Bengal, from the time of Sultan Fakhru-d din in A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340) to A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576), when Daud bin Sulaiman Kirani was defeated by Akbar's forces and slain, and Bengal was annexed to the empire of the Mughals.

Book VI.—The history of the Sharki dynasty of Jaunpur, from the commencement of A.H. 784 (A.D. 1382), the time of the accession of Khwaja Jahanu-sh Sharki, the first independent King of Jaunpur, to the extinction of the monarchy in A.H. 881 (A.D. 1476), when Sultan Hussain bin Muhamud Shah Sharki was defeated by Sikandar bin Bahlol, King of Delhi.

Book VII.—History of the Muhammadan Kings of Kashmir from A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315) to A.H. 992 (A.D. 1584), that is, from the time of Shamsu-d din Shah Mihr to the period when Yusuf Shah agreed to pay tribute to the Mughal Emperor.

Book VIII.—History of Sind, from A.H. 86 (A.D. 705), but more especially of the dynasties of the Jams and Arghuns, to the

submission of Mirza Jani Beg to Akbar, and the final annexation of the whole province to the Mughal Empire in A.H. 1101 (A.D. 1592).

Book IX.—The history of Multan, from the Muhammadan conquest under Muhammad Kasim, but more particularly of the independent monarchy established by Shaikh Yusuf in A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443), to the time when the province was annexed to the Mughal empire.

Conclusion.—A concise statement, comprised in a few lines, of the area of Akbar's empire, the number of cities and villages therein, and of its revenue.

The compiler of the *Sahihu-l Akhbar* attributes another work on Indian History under the name of *Tarikh-i I'rich* to the author of the *Tabakat-i Akbari.*

The Extracts from this work which follow are of considerable length. The reigns of Humayun and Akbar have been translated by the Editor in full, and supply a complete translation of this the most important portion of the work.

The *Tabakat-i Akbari* is one of the commonest histories procurable in India, but (says Sir H. Elliot) I have met with no remarkably good copy. In the Bodleian Library it is the only work on Indian History noticed by Uri, except an imperfect one on the reigns of Humayun, Akbar, and Jhahangir.[8] There are several complete or partial copies in the Library of the East India Office.

The *Tabakat-i Akbari* ends with a promise, which does not appear to have been fulfilled. As several copies, procured from distant places, concur in this reading, and as the author continued almost till the day of his death the history of Akbar's reign, it seems probable that he never wrote the Conclusion which he promised in his Preface, as it is now comprised in ten lines. It gives merely the computed area, populousness, and revenue of

[8] *Uri, Bibl. Bodl. Codd. MSS. Orient Catal.—Codd. MSS. Pers. xli, lii, liv. The MS. called Tarikh-i Sher Shahi, No. 1581, E. I. O. Coll., is a portion of this Tabakat-i Akbari The passage with which it concludes just precedes that with which the Tabakat-i Akbari terminates. Morley's mention of the year 1002 as the date of its composition led to this idenfication.* See *Dorn's Hist. of Afghans, Pref. xii. ...*

Hindustan, respecting which the author observes : "Be it not concealed, that the country of Hindustan is comprised within four climates, and is now included in the dominions of the Emperor Akbar. Its length from the Hindu Koh, on the borders of Badakhshan, to the country of Orissa, which is on the borders of Bengal, from west to east, is 1680 legal *kos*. Its breadth from Kashmir to the hills of Barujh (Broach), which is on the borders of Surat and Gujarat, is 800 *kos* Ilahi. Another mode is to take the breadth from the hills of Kamaun to the borders of the Dekhin, which amounts to 1000 Ilahi *kos*. The soil is well adapted for cultivation, and within each *kos* are several inhabited villages. At the present time, namely A.H. 1002, Hindustan contains 3200 towns, and upon each town there are dependent 200, 500, 1,000 or 1,500 villages.[9] The whole yields a revenue of 640 *krors* (640,00,00,000) *muradi tankas*.[10] Of the towns, 120 are large cities." He then finishes with these words : "As the particulars of the towns are not included in this summary, a detailed list of the towns shall be drawn up in alphabetical order."

## EXTRACTS

### HAZRAT KHAKAN-I SA'ID MUHAMMAD HUMAYUN SHAH, SON OF BABAR SHAH GAZI[11]

When the Emperor Babar departed from this fleeting world at Agra for his everlasting abode in Paradise, Muhammad Mukim Harawi, father of the author of this history, was one of the officials of his late Majesty, and had been promoted to the position of *diwan* of the household. Amir Nizamu-d din 'Ali Khalifa was chief administrator of the State, and in consequence of some things which had occurred in the course of worldy busi-

[9] *One MS. omits the 1500.*

[10] [*Thomas estimates the value of the tanka muradi, here quoted, at 20 to the silver tanka. The current tanka of account at this time was the Sikandari tanka of Sikandar bin Bahlol. So that the sum total here specified of* 640,00,00,000 ÷ 20 *amounts to* 32,00,00,000 *silver tankas or rupees (or* £ 32,000,000). *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings, pp.* 336, 834, 388, *and Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire, p.* 7].

[11] *His full name was "Nasiru-d din Muhammad Humayun," but he is commonly called "Jannat Ashyani."*

ness, he had a dread and suspicion of the young Prince Humayun, and was unfriendly to his succession. And if he was not content with the accession of the eldest son, neither was he favourable to the promotion of the younger. Mahdi Khwaja was son-in-law of the late Emperor, and was a generous and liberal young man. He was very friendly with Mir Khalifa, who had promised to raise him to the throne. This fact became generally known, and several of the nobles took part with Mahdi Khwaja. He also fell in with the idea, and began to assume kingly airs.

It happened that one day Mir Khalifa went to see Mahdi Khwaja, who was in his pavilion. Mir Khalifa and Muhammad Mukim, the father of the author, were the only persons present with the Khwaja. When the Mir had sat for a moment, his late Majesty, in the pangs of his disease, sent for him. After he had gone, Mahdi Khwaja continued standing in the pavilion, and the author's father remained standing with due respect behind him. The Mahdi was considered to be a man of suspicious temperament, and being unaware of my father's presence, when Mir Khalifa had gone, he stroked his beared, and said to himself, "Please God, I will flay thee!" As soon as he had said this, he perceived my father, and being greatly moved he took him by the ear, and said, "O Tajik, the red tongue uses its sharp point to no purpose." My father took leave and departed. He went with all haste to Mir Khalifa, and said, "Notwithstaning the existence of such intelligent princes as Muhammad Humayun Mirza and his brothers, you have shut your eyes against loyalty, and desire to transfer the sovereignty to another house ; the end of all this will be this." He then told him what Mahdi Khawaja had said. Mir Khalifa instantly sent off to fetch Prince Humayun, and he sent an officer to Mahdi Khwaja with an order in His Majesty's name, directing him to retire to his house. The officers hastened to the Khwaja, who was just about to sit down to dinner, and without any ceremony sent him off to his house. Mir Khalifa then issued a proclamation that no one was to visit or hold communication with Mahdi Khwaja, and that he was not to attend the *darbar*.

On the death of the Emperor Babar, Prince Humayun, who arrived from Sambal, ascended the throne at Agra, with the support of Amir Nizamu-d din 'Ali Khalifa, on the 9th Jumada-l awwal, 937 H.[12] (29th January, 1530). The date of his accession is found in the words *Khairu-l muluk*. The officers expressed their devotion, and the chiefs and nobles were treated with great kindness. The *mansabs* and offices which were held under the late sovereign were confirmed, and the royal favour made every one happy and content. On the same day Mirza Hindal arrived from Badakhshan, and was received with great kindness. He was gratified with the grant of two of the treasures (*do khazana*) of former kings, and the gold was divided by coffers (*kishti*), the date was found in the words *kisti-zar*.[13] The territories were then divided. Mirza Hindal received the district of Mewat[14] in *jagir* The Panjab, Kabul, and Kandahar were settled as the *jagir* of Mirza Kamran. Sambal was given to Mirza 'Askari,[15] Every one of the *amirs* also received an increase of his *jagir*.

After arranging the affairs of the State, His Majesty proceeded to Kalinjar, the *Raja* of which place expressed his fealty, and ranged himself among the supporters of the throne.[16] In those days Sultan Mahmud, son of Sultan Sikandar Lodi, with the assistance of Baban Bayazid, and the Afghan nobles, had raised the standard of opposition, and had taken possession of Jaunpur and its dependencies. Humayun now marched to subdue him, and having achieved success, he returned victorious to Agra.[17] There he held a great festival, and all the nobles and chiefs were honoured with robes and Arab horses. It is said

[12] *He was born on the 4th Zi-l kada, 916* H. *(6th February, 1511).—Akbar-nama, vol. i, p. 149.*

[13] *Badauni notices this, and says that coffers full of gold were distributed as gifts on the day of ascending the throne.*

[14] *Abu-l Fazl says "Alwar," which amounts to much the same thing.*

[15] *"and Badakhshan to Mirza Sulaiman."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 151.*

[16] *According to* Badauni, *he conquered (musakhkhar) Kalinjar. Vol. I., p. 344.*

[17] *"Leaving Sultan Junaid Birlas as governor of Jaunpur.,,—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 152.*

that 12,000 persons received robes at that feast, and 2,000 of them were presented with outer garments of gold brocade with gilt buttons.

At this time Muhammad Zaman Mirza, son of Badi'u-z Zaman Mirza, son of Sultan Husain Mirza Baikra, who had originally come from Balkh to seek a refuge with his late Majesty, now set himself up in opposition, but he was taken prisoner, and was sent as a warning for rebels to the fort of Bayana, and in the custody of Yadgar Taghai. An order was given to deprive him of sight, but the servants of Yadgar Beg saved the pupils of his eyes from the effects of the operation. After a short time he made his escape, and fled to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat. About the same time Muhammad Sultan Mirza, with his two sons Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, went off to Kanauj, and there raised a rebellion. His Majesty sent a person with letters to Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat, demanding the surrender of Muhammad Zaman Mirza, to which he returned a haughty refusal, and then showed signs of rebellion and resistance. This excited the anger of the Emperor, and he resolved to march against Gujarat and chastise Sultan Bahadur. He proceeded to Gwalior, and there passed two months in making excursions and hunting.

At this time Sultan Bahadur had marched with the forces of Gujarat and Malwa to beseige the fort of Chitor, and was carrying on war against Rana Sanka. He had sent Tatar Khan Lodi, one of his chief nobles and a very brave officer, to effect the conquest of the fort of Bayana and the dependent territory. Having reduced the fortress, he threatened Agra, whereupon the Emperor sent Prince Hindal against him. On learning the approach of the Prince, the greater part of Tatar Khan's forces deserted him and dispersed. With 300 men who remained he advanced against the Prince, and made a fierce onslaught upon the Prince's own division, in which he and every one of his followers perished. Bayana and its dependencies then reverted to the possession of the Emperor. When Sultan Bahadur heard of this, he was greatly alarmed and confounded. The Emperor being determined to chastise still further his enemy, he marched

from Agra,[18] and at the same period Sultan Bahadur laid siege a second time to Chitor. (*Victory of Prince Kamran at Kandahar.*)

When Sultan Bahadur was informed of the march of the Emperor he held a council of war. Many of the officers advised the raising of the siege, but Sadr Khan, who was the chief of his nobles, observed that they were warring against infidels, and that if a sovereign of Musulmans were to attack them while so engaged, he would in effect assist the infidels, and this would remain a reproach against him amongst Musulmans until the Day of Judgment. He therefore advised the continuance of the siege, and would not believe that the Emperor would attack them. When the Emperor had passed through Malwa, and had come to Sarangpur, he was informed of this ; so he rested there. Sultan Bahadur carried on the siege of Chitor at his ease, and finally took it by storm, and secured an immense booty. In celebration of the victory, he gave a great feast, and divided the spoils among his soldiers. Then he turned his front towards the Imperial army.

When the Emperor heard this, he marched forward, and the two armies faced each other at Mandisor,[19] one of the dependencies of Malwa. The tents were hardly pitched, when Saiyid 'Ali Khan and Khurasan Khan, who commanded Sultan Bahadur's advanced guard, were defeated by the royal forces, and fell back upon their main body. The army of Gujarat was greatly dispirited, and the Sultan called a council of war. Sadar Khan advised giving battle on the morrow, as the troops were elated by the conquest of Chitor, and their eyes had not yet been seared by the sight of the Mughals. Rumi Khan,[20] who commanded the artillery, was adverse to a pitched battle, because the guns (*top*) and rockets (*tufang*) were of little use (in the field). They were very strong in artillery, and except

[18] *At the beginning of Jumada-l awwal, 941* H.—*Akbar-nama Vol. i., p. 159.*
[19] *On the banks of a large tank.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 160.*
[20] *A Turk of Constantinople: but the title was sometimes given to artillerymen who were not European Turks.*

the Emperor of Rum, no other potentate could equal them He therefore counselled the entrenching[21] of the army and the carrying on of warfare daily. If the Mughals advanced, they might be met with a discharge of the guns and rockets and a large number of them would be killed. Sultan Bahadur acquiesced in this view, and ordered an entrenchment to be formed round his camp.

For two months the two armies remained confronting each other. Frequently during the day brave men desirous of fame sallied out in search of adventures; but the Mughal soldiers seldom ventured within range of the guns and rockets. Then the Emperor posted his troops around the position of the enemy, to cut off his supplies of grain and fodder and fuel. These dispositions caused a famine to ensue in the enemy's camp. Grain was not to be procured, the grass all around was consumed, and the imperfectly armed Gujaratis, through fear of the arrows, dared not venture far from the camp. The horses and animals and many men perished from want, and the army was dismouned. When Sultan Bahadur perceived that if he remained longer he would be taken prisoner, he went off by the rear of his pavilion and fled towards Mandu with five of his most trusty adherents, one of whom was governor of Burhanpur, and the other was Kadir Shah, governor of Malwa.[22] When his men heard of his escape, they took to flight. The date of this event is found in the words *Zill Bahadur*.

On the Emperor being informed of the flight of his enemy, he mounted and went off in pursuit. Having come up with Sadr Khan, who was retreating with a body of men towards Mandu, he made an attack upon him, thinking that it was Sultan Bahadur himself. He had not with him more than 3,000 men, for the rest were engaged in plundering. Many of the Gujaratis were slain. His Majesty hastened on to Mandu, and Sultan Bahadur was besieged in the fort. The siege was carried on for some days, till one night a party of the royal army scaled

[21] *Abul-Fazl says, "a barricade of carriages (hisar-i araba) with a ditch outside."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 161.*
[22] *See Akbar-nama.*

the walls and got into the fort. Sultan Bahadur was asleep when the alarm was raised. A general panic followed, and the Gujaratis took to flight. Sultan Bahadur made off with five or six horsemen towards Gujarat, and Sadr Khan and Sultan 'Alam (Lodi) threw themselves into the fort of Sungar, which is the citadel of Mandu. Next day they came out, and were conducted to the presence of the Emperor. They were both wounded. Sadr Khan was place in confinement,[23] and an order was given for cutting off the foot of Sultan 'Alam.

Three days after, the Emperor left the fort and marched on towards Gujarat. Sultan Bahadur had much treasure and many jewels in the fort of Champanir,[24] and these he carried off with him to Ahmadabad. When the Emperor left Champanir and marched towrads Ahmadabad, Sultan Bahadur again took flight, and proceeded towards Kambayat (Kambay). The city of Ahmadabad fell into the hands of the Mughals, and being plundered yielded enormous spoil. The Emperor again started off with all speed in pursuit of Sultan Bahadur. When the latter reached Kambay, he hastily exchanged his tired horses for fresh ones, and hurried off to the port of (Diu).[25] The Emperor reached Kambay on the evening of the day in which the fugitive had quitted it.[26] Next day, a person[27] came forward in a friendly way and gave information that the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were that night going to make a nocturnal attack upon the pursuers. The Emperor questioned him as to his motive for giving this information. He replied, that his son was prisoner in the hands of the victors, and he was in hopes, if the Emperor was successful, that he might obtain freedom for him. The

[23] *Such is the statement of one MS, not of the other. Abu-l Fazl says, on the contrary, he was received with great kindness. Sultan 'Alam had rebelled and deserted, so his foot was cut off and he was set at liberty. The fort was not surrendered without much negotiation and strong assurances of personal safety.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 164.*

[24] *He set fire to the town before leaving Champanir.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 164*

[25] *Having previously burnt a hundred war ghrabs.—Ib. 164.*

[26] *"and encamped on the shore of the sea." Ib. 165.*

[27] *An old woman, according to Abu-l Fazl.—Ib. 166.*

Emperor passed the night in the greatest watchfulness, and when it was near dawn, 5,000 or 6,000 footmen[28] made an attack upon the royal forces. The men were on the alert, and came out of their tents and assembled outside the camp. What was left in the camp was plundered. When the morning dawned, the Mughals fell upon the Gujaratis on all sides, and put many of them to the sword.[29]

Jam Firoz, formerly ruler of Tatta, having been defeated by the Arghuns, had fled to Gujarat. He had given his daughter to Sultan Bahadur. When the latter was defeated, the Jam fell a prisoner into the hands of the Emperor. On the night of this attack, his guards, fearing he might escape, put him to death. Sadr Khan Gujarati, who had surrendered himself at the fort of Sungar, was also put to death on this night.

Next day the Emperor marched towards Champanir, and invested the fort. Ikhtiyar Khan, the commandant of the fort, made preparations for resistance. One day the Emperor was going round the fort, when he spied a number of people who had come out of the jungle, and who, being frightened at the sight of him, fell back into the cover. He sent a party in pursuit, and captured several of them. It then appeared that, with the help of the (neighbouring) zamindars, they had conveyed grain and butter into the fort. In this place (where they had introduced the provisions) the fort was very high,[30] perpendicular, and dangerous. But His Majesty conceived that where provisions had been passed, he also might find an entrance. He carefully examined the place, and then returned to the camp.

It then occurred to him that the strength of this part of the fort was such, that the garrison probably felt quite secure about it, and took little care to guard it. He had a number of steel spikes prepared. In the day he attacked the fort on all sides,

[28] *"Bhils and Gowars."—Akbar-nama. 167.*

[29] *This attack was made by Malik Ahmad Lad and Rukn Daud, two of Shah Bahadur's nobles, who had great influence among the Kolis and Gowars of Koliwara. Enraged at this attack, Humayun ordered Kambay to be plundered and fired—Ib. 166.*

[30] *"Sixty or seventy gaz in height."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 168.*

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and at night he repaired with 600 men to this place. They drove the spikes right and left firmly into (the scarp of the rock), and by means of them climbed up into the fort. The garrison, being quite at ease about this part of the fort, did not observe their entrance. When thirty-nine persons, the last of whom was Bairam Khan, had gone up, His Majesty also resolutely ascended.[31] By daybreak 300 men had got in. There they found great stores of corn and butter, and other provisions, for the people of the fort. As soon as it was light, the besieging army advanced against the fort. The Emperor and his party then came down, shouting their battle-cry. On reaching the gate they opened it, and gave admission to the assailants. So this strong fortress was taken. Ikhtiyar Khan retreated into the citadel, which is called Muliya. Great numbers of the garrison were slain, and many of their wives and children cast themselves down from the walls of the fort and were killed.

Ikhtiyar Khan then came out of the citadel and surrendered. He held a high position among the Gujaratis, and was kindly received by the Emperor, who made him one of his personal attendants.[32] The treasures of the Kings of Gujarat, which had been accumulating for many years, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The gold was divided among the soldiers, so much a head. The goods and stuffs of Rum and Europe and China, and of every part of the world, which the Kings of Gujarat had treasured, all fell a prey to the victors. So vast was the amount of gold and effects that came into the possession of the soldiers, that no person attempted to collect revenue that year in Gujarat.

The agriculturists of the country sent a person with a message to Sultan Bahadur, to inform him that as several of the

[31] *The Akbar-nama (vol. i., p. 168 Or. Ed.) says that when thirty-nine had gone up, Humayun wanted to proceed, but Bairam Khan persuaded him to wait till the whole ascent was clear. Bairam Khan then went up, and Humayun followed, being the forty-first man.*

[32] *Ikhtiyar Khan was a descendant of the kazis of the town of Naryad, and was a man of great knowledge and experience. He had a high reputation as a statesman, and was an accomplished geometrician and astronomer. He was of some repute also as a poet.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 167. (Or. Ed.) Erskine, vol. ii., p. 65.*

districts were not occupied by the Mughal agents, they would themselves make the proper collections, if he would send an army to protect them. Accordingly, Sultan Bahadur sent one of his slaves, 'Imadu-l Mulk,[33] who was distinguished for courage and justice. 'Imadu-l Mulk set about collecting forces, and by the time he reached Ahmadabad many soldiers of the army and of the zamindars had gathered round him, to the number of about 50,000 horse and foot.[34] He encamped within sight of Ahmadabad and began to collect the revenue. When information of this was brought to the Emperor after the fall of Champanir, he made a second large distribution of gold out of the plunder of Gujarat among the soldiers. He then placed the fort of Champanir in charge of Tardi Beg, and marched towards Ahmadabad. The command of the vanguard was given to Mirza 'Askari, Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and Mir Hindu Beg, and they went on one day's march in advance. In the vicinity of Mahmudabad,[35] which is twelve *kos* from Ahmadabad, 'Imadu-l Mulk attacked Mirza 'Askari, and was defeated. Many men fell on both sides.

The author of this work heard from his father, who was then *wazir* of Mirza 'Askari, that at mid-day when it was intensely hot, the Gujaratis came hastily out of Ahmadabad. Mirza Yadgar Nasir had marched about half a *kos* on the right flank of Mirza Askari and Mirza Hindu Beg had encamped at the same distance on his left. The Gujaratis came on with such speed that the Mirza had no time to array his forces, so he retired with a party of his men into a thorn brake, where he stood fast. Heedless of this disposition of the Mirza's the Gujratis dispersed in search of plunder, and gathered a large booty. Mirza Yadgar Nasir and Mirza Hindu Beg came up in due order with their forces, and the Gujaratis took to flight. Mirza 'Askari now came forth from the thorn brake, and pursued the Gujaratis to Ahmadabad. More than 2,000 men were killed in the battle.

[33] *A Circassian.*

[34] *Mujahid Khan of Junagarh joined him with 12,000 horse.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 169. (Or. Ed.)*

[35] *"Between Naryad and Mahmudabad,"—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 17*

After this the Emperor bestowed Ahmadabad and its dependencies upon Mirza 'Askari in *jagir*,[36] Nahrwala Patan upon Mirza Yadgar Nasir and Broach upon Mirza Hindu Beg,[37] Tardi Beg received Champanir, and Kasim Husain obtained Baroda. Khan-jahan Shirazi and other nobles also received grants.* The Emperor proceeded after these successes to Burhanpur, and from thence to Mandu.

After a time one of the nobles of Sultan Bahadur prepared a fortified position in the neighbourhood of Nausari, which is near to Surat, and proceeded to collect forces. He took possession of Nausari, and having associated Rumi Khan[38] of Surat with Khan-jahan Shirazi, they marched against Broach.[39] Kasim Husain, being unable to withstand them, fled to Champanir. The Gujaratis then rose and carried on offensive movements on every side.

One night Mirza 'Askari in a convivial party took too much wine, and giving license to his tongue exclaimed, "I am a king and the shadow of God." Ghazanfar, who was one of his companions, and foster-brother of Kasim Khan, said in an undertone, "So thou art ; but not for thyself". The convives smiled, and the Mirza having found out what they were laughing about, got angry, and threw Ghazanfar into prison. In a few days he made his escape,[40] and went and joined Sultan Bahadur, whom he incited to attack Ahmadabad, assuring him that he was acquainted with all the plans of the Mughals, who were anxious

[36] *None but Mirza 'Askari's men were allowed to enter the city.—Akbar-nama, 172.*

[37] *A large force was left under the command of Hindu Beg, with which he was to render assistance wherever it was required. Kasim Husain received Broach—Ib. 172.*

**See infra extract from Akbar-nama, "Return of Humayun".*

[38] *This was the common title given to Osmanli Turks, who were in high repute as engineers and gunners, but it was not confined exclusively to them. This Rumi Khan is not the same as the Rumi Khan Khudawand Khan who left Sultan Bahadur after his defeat at Mandu, and directed the siege of Chunar for Humayun. See infra.*

[39] *See Extract from Akbar-nama.*

[40] *With 300 horse.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 174.*

to retreat, and only wanted a pretext for so doing. He advised him to make the Mirza prisoner, and march against the Mughals; and he expressed his willingness to submit to punishment if they made any real resistance. Sultan Bahadur, with the assistance of the zamindars of Surath,[41] got together a force and marched against Ahmadabad.

Just at this period Amir Hindu Beg had counselled Mirza 'Askari to have the *khutba* recited and coin struck in his name, and to set up his claim to independence, expecting that the troops in hopes (of reward) would devote themselves to his service Mirza 'Askari did not accept this advice. After much debate and deliberation, it was determined that Mirza 'Askari, Mirza Yadgar Nasir, Amir Hindu Beg and some other nobles should leave Ahmadabad, and form a camp in the rear of Asawal,[42] opposite Sarganj. Sultan Bahadur also came down to Sarganj and faced his enemies. By chance a cannon ball from the camp of the Mirza knocked down the tent of Sultan Bahadur. This greatly disturbed him, and he summoned Ghazanfar to his presence, intending to bring him to punishment. Ghazanfar asked that his punishment might be postponed until the Sultan had set his army in array, for he had heard that Mirza 'Askari intended to retreat during the night. When night came Mirza 'Askari, with the approval of the *amirs*, retreated towards Champanir, leaving everything superfluous behind them.[43] They halted at ten *kos* distance, and Sultan Bahadur pursued and came up with them. Mirza 'Askari and the *amirs* mounted and made a show of fighting, and then retired.

When they reached Champanir, Tardi Beg[13] exhibited hostility towards them, and shutting himself up in the fort, sent a messenger to Humanyun, to inform him that Mirza 'Askari had hostile intentions and was about to march upon Agra and proclaim himself King. But before Mirza 'Askari retreated from

[41] *Surath is one of the divisions of Kattiwar, and must not be confouded with the town of Surat, though the names are no doubt identical.*
[42] *A suburb of Ahmadabad.*
[43] *See Extracts from the Akbar-nama, infra.*

Ahmadabad, the newswriters and reporters had communicated to the Emperor the proposition which Mir Hindu Beg had made to the Mirza for his assuming the crown, and althhough he had not assented thereto, they reported that he entertained hostile designs. The Emperor set off with all speed from Mandu to Agra, and was met upon the road[44] by Mirza 'Askari, who waited upon him, and told him the facts of the matter. Sultan Bahadur obtained possession of the fort of Champanir by the capitulation of Tardi Beg.

At the beginning of this year, Shah Tahmasp, in revenge of Sain Mirza marched to Kandahar, and Kalan Beg evacuated the fort and proceeded to Lahore. It is said that Kalan Beg had built for himself a Chinese house of great elegance,* and when he fled it was furnished with fine carpets and beautiful vases. This greatly pleased the Shah. Leaving Kandahar in charge of his nobles, the Shah proceeded to 'Irak. After this, Mirza Kamran marched from Lahore against Kandahar, and the Turkomans, being unable to resist him, evacuated the place and went to 'Irak. Kandahar thus once more fell into his hands.

The Emperor Humayun remained for a year at Agra and took his pleasure. When Sultan Bahadur was defeated he sent away Muhammad Zaman Mirza to Hind, in order that there might be no difficulty about him, and when Mirza Kamran marched against Kandahar, Zaman Mirza laid siege to Lahore, but upon hearing of the Emperor's return he went back again to Gujarat.[45].

Sher Khan Afghan, who had got possession of the provinces of Bihar and Jaunpur and the fort of Chunar, greatly increased his power and forces while the Emperor was engaged in Gujarat and Malwa. To curb his proceedings, the Emperor marched against him on the 14th Safar, 942 H. (12th August, 1535).

[44] *"Near Chitor".—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 176.*

**One built of enamelled tiles.*

[45] *According to Abu-l Fazl he went to Sind, but was stopped and turned aside by Shah Husain, son of Shah Beg Arghun. He then went and invested Lahore during Kamran's absence, but fled as soon as Kamran returned, and having no other resource he went back again to Gujarat.*

When he pitched his tents before the fort of Chunar,[46] Rumi Khan, who had quitted the service of Sultan Bahadur,[47] and had been received into that of the Emperor, undertook the reduction of the fortress. He received full authority to do whatever he deemed necessary for the capture of the place, and every assistance was to be given to him. Rumi Khan reconnoitred the fortress, and found that every part of the place which abutted on the land was exceedingly strong and quite impregnable. He therefore turned his attention to the river, and prepared a large vessel on which he began to build a scaffold.[48] When the structure was finished, he found that the vessel would not carry it, so he had two other vessels lashed one on each side of it. Still they were insufficient to convey the scaffold. The help of another vessel was obtained and the scaffold being now movable it was brought close to the fort, and the place was captured.[49] When the officers of the garrison saw that the place was no longer tenable, they made their escape at night in boats. Rumi Khan received many rewards.[50] The gunners of the fort were maimed by His Majesty's orders.[51] At this time, Sher Khan Afghan was carrying on war against the ruler of Bengal[52] who fled wounded before him, and sought refuge with the Emperor Humayun. The Emperor then marched against

[46] *Which was under the command of Kutb Khan, son of Sher Shah.*

[47] *After the defeat of Sultan Bahadur at Mandu.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 183.*

[48] *muqabil sar-kob. Abu-l Fazl calls the structure a sabat.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 183.*

[49] *ba yak bar muqabil kob ra biqal'a muttasil sakhteh maftuh gasht.*

[50] *He was appointed governor of the fortress, but died a few days afterwards, poisoned, as Abu-l Fazl says, out of envy at his promotion. Beg Mirak succeeded him as governor of Chunar.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 184.*

[51] *Abu-l Fazl says that 2,000 men surrendered and received quarter from Humayun, but that Muyid Beg, one of his attendants, caused their hands to be cut off, averring that it was by the Emperor's order, although he had really directed kind treatment. Our MSS. have the words ba-hukm, "by order", but perhaps, as Erskine suggests, it should be be-hukm, without the order.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 183.*

[52] *Saiyid Mahmud Shah. Abu-l Fazl calls him Nasib Saha, but he was dead.*

Bengal. Sher Khan then sent his sons,[53] Jalal Khan and Khawas Khan to secure Garhi, which was situated on the road to Bengal. This Garhi is a strong place.[54] On one side of it there is a high mountain and a large jungle quite insurmountable, and the river Ganges runs near to the other side. The place stands between Bihar and Bengal. The Emperor sent Jahangir Beg Mughal against Garhi.

Hindal Mirza accompanied the Emperor to Mungir, and afterwards he was sent towards Agra against Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Ulugh Mirza, and Shah Mirza, who had fled from His Majesty, and were creating disturbances in the country. Muhammad Zaman Mirza, when he found that he met with no success in Gujarat, sent ambassadors to the Emperor at Agra suing for pardon.[55]

When Jahangir Beg arrived at Garhi, Jalal Khan,[56] son of Sher Khan, and Khawas Khan marched forth and defeated Jahangir Beg as he was descending (the defiles). Jahangir Beg was wounded, and returned to join the Emperor, who marched in person to the gates of Garhi. Unable to make further resistance, Jalal Khan and Khawas Khan fled. The Emperor then left Garhi, and continued his march into Bengal. Sher Khan was unable to resist him, so he went off by way of Jharkand[57] to Rohtas. The Emperor remained three months in Bengal[58] and changed the name of the city of Gaur to Jannatabad.

[53] *So in the original, but Khawas Khan was not Sher Khan's son.*

[54] *"The gate of Bengal."—Akbar-nama. It is the Teria garhi or Tiliagulley of the maps.*

[55] *This outbreak, according to Abu-l Fazl occurred before the march to Chunar, and Muhammad Zaman joined the Emperor while on his march thither.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 176.*

[56] *All three MSS. had "Jalal Khan," but in two of them "Kutb Khan" has been substituted.*

[57] *The Akbar-nama calls it "Chaharkand." It was at this time that Sher Khan got possession of Rohtas. According to Abu-l Fazl, "Raja Chintaman brahman was master (hakim) of the fortress." He accredits the doli story, and says that 600 dolis went in with two men in each.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 186.*

[58] *The Akbar-nama (vol. i., p. 186) says Humayun liked the climate of Bengal, and rested there in pleasure and dissipation, regardless of his army.*

In the year 943 (1536 A.D.), Mirza Hindal, finding opportunity at Agra,[59] was induced by turbulent advisers to set himself up in opposition to the Emperor.[60] He killed Shaikh Bahlol,[61] one of the great Shaikhs of the time, and learned in theology, to whom the Emperor was much attached. He was executed upon the pretence of his being in league with the Afghans, but in reality it was brought about by the leaders of the revolt in order to widen the breach between Mirza Hindal and the Emperor. The *khutba* was now read in the name of Hindal. When the Emperor heard of this defection, he left Jahangir Beg in charge of Bengal, with a reinforcement of 5000 chosen men, and set off for Agra.

At this time Muhammad Zaman Mirza, son of Badi'u-z Zaman Mirza, returned from Gujarat with great contrition, and waited upon the Emperor, who forgave him, and did not utter a word of reproach. Long marches and the unwholesome climate of Bengal destroyed the horses of the soldiers, and the Emperor's army arrived quite destitute of provisions at Chaunsa. The *amirs* who had been left in Jaunpur and Chunar came to wait upon the Emperor. Sher Khan, having got intelligence of the distress of the army, came and placed himself in front of the Emperor, and the armies remained confronting each other three months.

When Mirza Kamran returned to Lahore from Kandahar, and heard of the rebellion of Mirza Hindal, of the difficulties of the Emperor, and of the growing strength of Sher Khan, he formed the design of securing Agra. Mirza Hindal proceeded

[59] *According to the Akbar-nama (vol. i., p. 186) he had gone there without leave.*

[60] *His supporters said, "If you will cause the khutba to be read in your name, we will faithfully serve and support you; if not, we will go to Mirza Kamran, where we shall have our wishes gratified."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 187.*

[61] *Abu-l Fazl calls him "Shaikh Phul," and says he had been sent by Humayun express from Bengal to use his influence in inducing Hindal to desist from his rebellious designs.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 188.*

to Delhi, and there Fakhr 'Ali and Mirza Yadgar Nasir[62] shut themselves up in the fortress, and in spite of all his efforts, Hindal was unable to take the city. So when Mirza Kamran came near to Dehli, Mirza Hindal felt himself constrained to join him.[63] Fakhhr 'Ali came out on the top of the fortress, and seeing Mirza Kamran, he told him that Mirza Yadgar Nasir would not surrender Dehli, so the best thing he could do would be to go on to Agra, and if he obtained possession of that city, Dehli would be given up to him. Mirza Kamran consequently marched on towards Agra, and when he approached that city, Mirza Hindal separated from him, and went away in the direction of Alwar.

The news of Mirza Hindal's rebellion, and of the arrival of Mirza Kamran at Dehli, was brought to the Emperor at Chaunsa, and greatly increased his distress. Sher Khan now sent to the Emperor a *darwesh* named Shaikh Jalil, whom he called his *murshid*, to propose terms of peace. He offered to give up all the territory except Bengal, to swear upon the Holy Book that he would live in peace, and that the coin should be struck and the *khutba* read in the name of the Emperor. These proposals were received with the greatest satisfaction. But next morning Sher Khan fell upon the royal army unawares, and put it to the rout before it could be drawn up in array.[64] Prior to the attack, the Afghans had taken possession of the bridge and had broken it. They also came out on the river in boats, and despatched with their spears every man of the royal army whom they found endeavouring to escape by water. Muhammad

[62] *On hearing of Hindal's proceedings, Mirza Yadgar Nasir had left Kalpi and hastened by way of Gwalior to Dehli, and prepared the city for a siege.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 189.*

[63] *The Akbar-nama (vol. i., p. 190) states, what is more likely, that on Kamran's reaching Sonpat, Hindal hastened back to Agra, from whence, on Kamran's approach, he retired to Alwar.*

[64] *As Humayun was mounting, he ordered Baba Jalair and Tardi Beg Kuch Beg to look to the safety of the Empress Haji Begam. They died fighting at the door of her tent. Mir Pahlawan Badakhshi and a number of others fell in the vain attempt to save her, and she fell a prisoner into the hands of the Afghans.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 193.*

Zaman Mirza was drowned. His Majesty rode his horse into the water, and nearly perished ; but he was helped over the river by a water-carrier, and went off towards Agra.

Mirza Kamran had ere this arrived at Agra. Mirza Hindal was at Alwar in security. After the Emperor had crossed the river, he hastened on, accompanied by only a few horsemen[65] of whom the author's father was one, and arrived at Agra. Mirza Kamran had received no intelligence before the Emperor arrived. The latter repaired at once to the pavilion of his brother, and on seeing each other, the eyes of the brothers filled with tears. Hindal Mirza received forgiveness for his offences, and then came and waited upon the Emperor. Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons, who had for a long time been engaged in rebellion, also came in and joined them. Consultations were held. Mirza Kamran was desirous of returning to Lahore, and showed unbounded expectations. The Emperor assented to all his extraordinary propositions. Khwaja Kalan Beg exerted himself to bring about the return of Mirza Kamran. The negotiations went on for six months. Meanwhile Mirza Kamran had been attacked with severe sickness, and some designing persons had instilled into his mind the belief that his illness was the result of poison administered to him by the Emperor's directions. So, ill as he was, he started for Lahore, having sent on Khwaja Kalan Beg in advance. He had promised to leave a considerable portion of his army to assist his brother at Agra ; but in spite of this promise he carried all off with him, excepting only 2000 men whom he left at Agra under the command of Sikander. Mirza Haidar Doghlat Kashmiri[66] who had accompanied Kamran, remained with His Majesty, and was received into favour. Kamran also took away with him many of the soldiers of Agra.

Sher Khan, emboldened by the dissensions between the brothers, advanced along the banks of the Ganges, and sent a detachment over the river against Kalpi and Etawah. Kasim Hus-

[65] *Mirza 'Askari also was with him.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 194.*

[66] *Mirza Haidar was averted, by the Emperor's remonstrances, from going away with Kamran.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 197. See supra.*

sain Sultan Uzbek, along with Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Sikandar Sultan, fought against the Afghans in the neighbourhood of Kalpi. They killed a son of Sher Khan who was in command, and a great many men of his army, and they sent his head as an offering to Agra. The Emperor then marched against Sher Khan to the banks of the Ganges, and passed over the river at Kanauj. For one month he remained encamped in sight of the enemy. His army numbered 100,000 horsemen, while that of the Afghans did not exceed 50,000. At this conjuncture, Muhammad Sultan Mirza and his sons again exhibited their perfidy, and without reason fled from the royal army. The detachment which Mirza Kamran had left as a reinforcement also went off to Lahore. So disaffection having become the fashion, many of the troops went off and scattered over various parts of Hindustan. The rainy season came on, and the place where the army was encamped being flooded with water, it was determined to move to higher ground. While this was being done Sher Khan came forth to fight. The battle was fought on the 10th Muharram of this year (947 H., 17th May 1540 A.D.). Many of the soldiers, being dispirited, fled without fighting. A few only of of the bravest went into the fight, and the day being lost, the whole army fled. Humayun became separated from his horse in the Ganges, and was helped out of the water by Shamsu-d din Muhammad Ghaznivi, who afterwards, in the reign of Akbar, received the title of Khan-i a'zam. When Sher Khan heard of his escape, he was sorry, and exclaimed, "I was in hopes he had perished, but he has got off."[67] The Emperor fled to Agra; and when the enemy approached that city, he made no delay, but went to Lahore. At the beginning of Rabi'u-l awwal all the Chaghatai Sultans and *amirs* were assembled in Lahore; but Mirza Muhammad Sultan and his sons, who had come to Lahore, fled from thence to Multan. Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir found it expedient to go towards Bakar and Tatta,[68] and Mirza Kamran determined to go to Kabul as soon as the party was broken up.

[67] *See supra.*

[68] *One copy has "Nagarkot."*

It was abundantly manifest to the Emperor that there was no possibility of bringing his brothers and his *amirs* to any common agreement, and he was very despondent. Mirza Haidar Beg, after much consultation,[69] had been sent off with a party who had volunteered for service in Kashmir, and Khwaja Kalan Beg was ordered to follow him. When the Mirza had reached Naushahr, and Kalan Beg had got as far Sialkot, intelligence reached the Emperor that Sher Khan had crossed the river (Biyah) at Sultanpur, and was only a few *kos* distant. His Majesty then passed over the river of Lahore. Mirza Kamran,[70] after proving faithless to the oaths and compacts which he had made to help in whatever was decided upon, now thought it expedient to retire with the Emperor to Bahra. When Khwaja Kalan Beg heard (of this retreat), he marched rapidly from Sialkot, and joined the camp of Humayun. When Mirza Haider reached Kashmir, he found the people fighting against each other. A party of them came and waited upon him, and and through them Kashmir fell into his hands, without striking a stroke. On the 22nd Rajab he became sovereign of Kashmir, in the city of Nau-shahr, as is related in the *Tabakat-i Kashmir*.

At Bahra, Mirza Kamran and Mirza 'Askari parted from Humayun, and went off, accompanied by Khwaja Kalan Beg, to Kabul. Mirza Hindal and Mirza Yadgar Nasir still remainded with him, but after a few stages they disagreed. For twenty days they absented themselves, but falling into difficulties, on the advice of Mir Abu-l Baka, they once more came back and made their submission. On the banks of the river Sind a famine arose in the camp, and boats to cross the river were not procurable. Bakhshui Langah then brought in several boats laden with corn, and was very favourably received. The army then crossed the river, and went onwards to Bakhar, but made a halt

[69] *His advice was that the princes should occupy and fortify the hills between Sirhind and Sarang, while he subdued Kashmir, which he felt certain of effecting in the course of two months.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 205.*

[70] *Abu-l Fazl asserts that he sent an envoy to Sher Khan, offering to support him, on condition of being confirmed in the government of the Panjab.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 205.*

at the town of Luhari (Lohri). Mirza 'Askari then crossed the Sind, and went to the town of Patar, because the wants of an army were easily supplied there. From Luhari, which is near Bakhar,[71] to Patar, the distance is fifty *kos*. Mir Tahir Sadr was sent as ambassador to Shah Husain Arghun, ruler of Tatta; and Samandar Beg, one of the courtiers of the Emperor, was sent with him in charge of a horse and a robe. The gist of the message which they conveyed was, that the Emperor had been compelled to come to Tatta, and his object was to attempt the recovery of Gujarat. The Shah was invited to come and wait upon the Emperor, and consult with him about the conquest of Gujarat. Shah Husain Arghun temporized for six months by complimentary messages, and said that there could be no good in staying near Bakhar, but if the camp were nearer Tatta it would be more convenient, for five or six months might be lost while they were negotiating. If the Emperor would come nearer, whatever seemed advisable should be done.[72] Grain becoming scarce in Bakhar, the Emperor marched off to Patar, where Mirza Hindal was staying, for he had heard that Mirza Hindal intended to go to Kandahar. It was on one occasion in this year, while the Emperor was staying in the camp of Mirza Hindal, that he married *Maryam-i Makani* Hamida Banu Begum, the mother of the Emperor Akbar, and spent several days of happiness and pleasure in the camp of Hindal. The Emperor now forbade him to go to Kandahar, and directed him to return to Luhari.

Karacha Khan, who was governor of Kandahar, wrote letters to Mirza Hindal, inviting him to Kandahar, and the Mirza started off and went thither. When Humayun was informed of it, he was much troubled by the want of union among his brothers. Mirza Yadgjar Nasir had pitched his camp about two miles below the royal camp, and the river ran between the two

[71] *Lohiri or Rori is on the east bank of the Indus opposite to Bakhar.*

[72] *Shah Husain proposed that Humayun should take possession of the country of Chachkan, between Tatta and the Ran, as a means of furthering his views on Gujarat. In this he promised to support him.—Akbar-name. vol. i., p. 210. See vol. I. (Or. Ed.), p. 316.*

camps. He also now expressed his intention of going to Kandahar. On the Emperor being informed of this, he sent Mir Abu-l Baka to reassure the Mirza, and to forbid his going to Kandahar.[73] As he was crossing the river on his return, a party came out of the fort of Bakhar, and assailed his boat with a shower of arrows. One of them pierced the Mir, and he died. The Emperor showed great sorrow for his loss. The date of his death, 948 H., is found in the words *Surur-i kainat*.

After this Mirza Yadgar Nasir crossed the river, and paid a visit to the royal camp. After much consultation it was resolved that the Mirza should be left at Bakhar, and that His Majesty should march on to effect the conquest of Tatta. But the Mirza did not show any signs of concord and friendliness. When the Emperor marched for Tatta,[74] a large body of soldiers parted from him and stayed at Bakhar. Mirza Yadgar Nasir remained at Bakhar, and increased his forces, because during that year no[75] heavenly or terrestrial evil had befallen the agriculture of Bakhar. His Majesty now proceeded by means of boats to the fort of Shiwan.[76] A party of soldiers on board of the boats, as they came near to the fort, landed and attacked a body of men who had come out of the fort, and drove them in again.

The victors returned, and represented that the reduction of the fortress was an easy matter, so His Majesty crossed over the river, and invested the place.[77] But before his arrival, a party of Shah Husain's officers had entered it, and had done their best to increase its strength. When Shah Husain heard that it had been invested, he proceeded by boats to the vicinity of the

[73] *An agreement was made with the Mirza that he was to have one-third of Hindustan when it was recovered, as also Ghazni, Charkh, and Lohgar, which Babar had given to the Mirza's mother.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 212.*

[74] *On the 1st Jumada-l akhir.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 213.*

[75] *Two MSS. omit the negative, and so are in accord with Erskine (vol. ii., p. 226); but it seems to be required by the sense and the previous "because" (chi).*

[76] *Written "Siyahwan," and "Siyahan."*

[77] *He reached Sihwan on the 17th Rajab.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 213.*

Emperor's camp, and employed himself in cutting off the supply of grain. Great scarcity followed, and many men lived ( entirely ) upon the flesh of animals. The siege went on for nearly seven months, and the place was not captured, so a messenger was sent to Mirza Yadgar Nasir at Bakhar, to tell him that the fall of the fort depended upon his approach; for if the besiegers marched to attack Shah Husain, the garrison would be free to gather in provisions, and so protract the defence. Want of salt and scarcity of grain would prevent the royal forces remaining under the fort much longer; but if Mirza Yadgar would attack Shah Husain, the latter would be unable to maintain his position. Mirza Yadgar sent a portion of his force, but no advantage was gained through this reinforcement. Again a messenger was sent to call Mirza Yadgar, and 'Abdu-l Ghafur, who was *Mir-i mal* of the Emperor, received the commission. 'Abdu-l Ghafur went to Mirza Yadgar, and spoke about the perilous condition of the royal army, but the Mirza and his officers deemed it advisable to remain where they were and effect the conquest of Bakhar.

Shah Husain had sent representatives to Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and had drawn near to his camp. He promised that he would acknowledge the supremacy of the Mirza, give him his daughter in marriage, and read the *khutba* in his name.[78] Delighted with these offers, the Mirza was hoodwinked by Shah Husain, and so placed himself in hostility to the Emperor. Having thus secured himself against Mirza Yadgar, and being aware of the distress and weakness of the army of Humayun, Shah Husain advanced closer to the royal camp, and captured the vessels ( which were conveying provisions ) for the army. Unable to continue the siege of Sihwan, the Emperor was compelled to retreat towards Bakhar.[79] When he approached near to Mirza Yadgar Nasir, he sent to him for boats in which to cross the river, and the Mirza, who was in league with the people of Tatta, sent to them, desiring them to come at night and carry off the

[78] *He represented that he was old and had no son, that he would give him his daughter, leave him his treasures, recognize him as successor, and help him to conquer Gujarat.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 214.*

[79] *He commenced his retreat on the 17th Zi-l ka'da, Ib. p. 215.*

boats. Next morning he artfully reported that the enemy had carried off the boats. The Emperor remained inactive some days for want of boats. At length, two zamindars of Bakhar waited upon him, and (under their guidance) some boats which had been sunk were raised. Humayun then crossed the river. When Mirza Yadgar Nasir learnt of the passage over, being greatly alarmed and ashamed, he, without waiting upon the Emperor, marched off hastily against Shah Husain; and the latter being quite unprepared, the Mirza fell upon a large force from Tatta which had disembarked, and killed and made many prisoners, and then returned. After this action, Shah Husain returned to Tatta, and Mirza Yadgar Nasir, repentant and ashamed, waited upon the Emperor and presented the heads of his enemies. Once more Humayun forgave him, and spoke not a word of all that had passed.

Shah Husain now wrote letters to Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and again drew him over to his side. The Shah requested him to secure for him the two zamindars who had obtained the boats for the Emperor. These men, being informed of the demand, repaired to the camp of Humayun. Mirza Yadgar sent a messenger to Humayun, representing that he had some revenue matters relating to his *jagir* of Bakhar to settle with these two zamindars, and requested that they might be sent to him. The Emperor ordered that several persons should accompany the men, and bring them back again when the business was concluded. The instant Mirza Yadgar Nasir saw them, he took them forcibly from the Emperor's men, and sent them to Shah Husain. Thus he once more exhibited his animosity to the Emperor, and never again sought a reconciliation.

The men of Humayun's army, being in great distress, began to desert by ones and twos to Mirza Yadgar Nasir. Mun'im Khan[80] also, and his brother, had thoughts of running away. This intention was communicated to Humayun, and he ordered them into confinement. Mirza Yadgar Nasir, in the depths of his infamy, now prepared to turn his arms against Humayun,

[80] *He who became Khan-khanan in the reign of Akbar.*

and the latter, being informed of his movements, made ready for fighting. Hashim Beg, a person high in Mirza Yadgar's confidence, when he heard of his proceedings, restrained him, and nolens volens made him return. It now became evident to Humayun, that if he tarried longer his men would all desert to Mirza Yadgar Nasir, and that the worst might be expected from the Mirza's baseness. In this extremity, he resolved upon marching to Mal Deo, one of the faithful zamindars of Hindustan, who at that time surpassed all the zamindars of Hindustan in power and in the number of his forces. This Mal Deo had sent letters to Bakhar, declaring his loyalty, and offering assistance in effecting the subjugation of Hindustan.

Humayun accordingly marched[81] towards Mal Deo's country by way of Jesalmir. The ruler of Jesalmir[82] shamefully took an unmanly course. He sent a force to attack the small party of the Emperor on the march, but it was defeated and driven back with loss. Humayun had a great many men wounded. He marched with all possible speed till he reached the country of Mal Deo. Then he sent on (Shamsu-d din Muhammad) Atka Khan to Mal Deo at Joudhpur, while he himself halted for a few days.

*(Proceedings of Mirzas Hindal, Kamran, and 'Askari at Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul.)*

Humayun remained on the borders of Mal Deo's territories awaiting the return of Atka Khan. When Mal Deo was informed of the Emperor's weakness, he was much alarmed, for he knew that he had not sufficient forces of his own to withstand Sher Khan. For Sher Khan had sent an ambassador to Mal Deo, holding out great expectations; and the latter, in the

[81] *He started on the 21st Muharram, 949, for Uch. Removing from thence on the 18th Rabiul-l awwal, he proceeded by Diwarawal, and Wasilpur to a place twelve kos from Bikanir, at which place he arrived on the 17th Rabi'u-l Akhir. Thence he proceeded to Pahludi, thirty kos from Joudhpur, and afterwards made three more forward marches to the tank of Juki.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 219.*

[82] *According to Abu-l Fazl his name was "Rai Lon Karan."—Ib. p. 219.*

extreme of perfidy, had promised to make Humayun a prisoner if possible, and to give him over into the hands of his enemy. Nagor, and its dependencies, had fallen into the power of Sher Khan, and consequently he was afraid lest Sher Khan should be annoyed and send a large army to his territory against Humayun. To keep the Emperor in ignorance, Mal Deo detained the envoy Atka Khan, and did not give him permission to return. But Atka Khan contrived to ascertain what was passing through the mind of Mal Deo, and went off without any formal dismissal.

One of the Emperor's librarians, who at the time of his defeat had fled to Mal Deo, now wrote to the Emperor, informing him that Mal Deo was bent upon treachery, and advising him to get out of his territory as quickly as possible. Atka Khan also spoke in the strongest terms upon the matter. So Humanyun marched off at once to Amarkot. Two Hindus, who had come to act as spies upon him, fell into his hands, and were brought to his presence. They were questioned, and an order was given that one of them should suffer the punishment of death, with the object of arriving at the exact facts of the matter. The two prisoners broke loose, and snatching a knife and a dagger from two bystanders, they despatched seventeen living creatures, men, women ,and horses, before they were overpowered and slain. The Emperor's own horse was among the animals killed. As he had no other horse to ride, his equerries sought to obtain some horses and camels from Tardi Beg, but he disgraced himself by giving a refusal. Then the Emperor mounted a camel. Nadim Koka was walking on foot, while his mother was riding his horse; but when he saw the Emperor seated on the camel, he made his mother dismount, presented the horse to the Emperor, and made her ride on the camel which he had used.

The road lay through a loose sand, and water was not procurable. The army toiled on with great difficulty, and every moment the news came of the approach of Mal Deo. The Emperor ordered Muni'im Khan, with a detachment, to march

cautiously and slowly in the rear, and if the enemy approached, to give him battle. When night came on, that detachment lost the way, and at daybreak the enemy's forces were in sight. Shaikh 'Ali Beg, Darwesh Koka, and some others were (in the rear), numbering in all twenty-two persons. Darwesh Beg, son of Baki Jalair, was one of the party. They proceeded against the enemy, who was emerging from a narrow defile. Shaikh 'Ali killed the commander of the enemy with his first arrow, and every arrow that his little band discharged wounded some prominent man of the enemy's army. Unable to endure this, the enemy turned, and his great army fled before such an insignificant troop. Many were killed in their flight, and many camels fell into the hands of victors. When the intelligence of the victory reached the Emperor, he hastened to publicly express his thanks.

The army encamped by a well which contained a little water, and the party which had lost its way during the night now came in, which was another cause of rejoicing. Next day the march was resumed, and for three days no water was found. On the fourth they reached a well : a drum was beaten when the bucket reached the surface of the earth, to give the bullock driver notice to stop ;[83] for the well was so deep that a call would not reach him. In the intensity of their thirst, some men could not restrain themselves. Four or five threw themselves upon the bucket, the rope broke, and the bucket fell back into the well. Overcome with suffering, they uttered cries and lamentations, and some cast themselves intentionally into the well. In this way many perished through thirst. Next day the march was resumed, and at the hottest time they reached a river (*ab*). The horses and camels had not tasted water for several days, and now they drank so much that many of them died.

At length, with extreme toil, they reached Amarkot, which is 100 *kos* distant from Tatta. The *rana*, that is to say the ruler

[83] *The bucket was drawn up by a bullock by means of a rope passing over a wheel at the top of the well, and the rope was so long that a drum was required to make the bullock driver hear.*

(*hakim*) of Amarkot[84] was kindly disposed, and came out to meet the Emperor, and offered his services. The army rested from their hardships some days in the city, and whatsoever the Emperor had in his treasury he distributed among his soldiers. He had arrived here with no great force, so he levied a sum of money from Tardi Beg and others as a benevolence, and graciously presented the *rana* and his sons with gold and girdles and daggers. Shah Husain Arghun had slain the father of the *rana*, and so the *rana* now collected a considerable number of men from his territories, and went with the Emperor in the direction of Bakhar. The Emperor's family, with their paraphernalia, under his orders remained at Amarkot. Khwaja Mu'azzam, brother of Maryam Makani, was left in charge of them.

Fortune now for a time changed its treatment of the Emperor, by giving him a son, and impressing an imperishable mark upon the page of time[85]. The child was born on the 5th Rajab, 949 (15th October, 1542). Tardi Beg Khan conveyed this intelligence to the Emperor in the neighbourhood of Amarkot, and the Emperor under spiritual guidance, as will be narrated in the proper place, gave to the child the name of Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar.[86]

He then continued his march towards Bakhar, but he wrote very urgent letters as to the safety of the young prince. Upon reaching the *pargana* of Jun, he halted there for a while. He sent for his family and the suite of the prince, and then his eyes were gladdened by the sight of his son. The force which had been collected from the parts around dispersed while he remained at Jun; and his brave and intrepid officer, Shaikh 'Ali, fell in an action with the troops of Shah Husain Arghun, in one of the *parganas* of Tatta. His soldiers began to desert one by one from his camp. Munim Khan even went off. His Majesty, seeing that it is was not advisable to remain longer in this

[84] *"Rana Parsad by name."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 220.*

[85] *This passage is greatly compressed.*

[86] *He is already styled by anticipation "His Majesty the Emperor, King of Kings."*

country, determined upon going to Kandahar. At this time he was joined by Bairam Khan,[87] who had come from Gujarat. He now sent representatives to Shah Husain Arghun, asking for boats to enable him to cross the river, and the Shah, delighted with his determination, sent him thirty boats and 300 camels. His Majesty then crossed the river, and began his march to Kandahar.

Shah Husain sent a person to Mirza 'Askari and Mirza Kamran, to inform them of the Emperor's intention to march to Kandahar, and they wrote back desiring him to bar his progress and make him prisoner. The perfidious Mirza 'Askari, when His Majesty reached Shal and Mastan[88] marched rapidly from Kandahar, and sent forward Hawali[89] Uzbek to watch his move-

[87] *The celebrated Bairam Khan, who plays so conspicuous a part in this and the following reign, and to whom the recovery of India is in great measure attributable. Bairam Khan was a Turk of the Kara-Kuinlu branch. He was born in Badakhshan and studied at Balkh. At the age of sixteen he entered the army of Humayun, and fought in the disastrous battle of Kanauj. After the rout, he took refuge with Raja Mitr Sen at the town of Lakhnor, in Sambhal. Sher Shah demanded his surrender, and the Raja, afraid to refuse, sent the Khan to him. He was brought to Sher Shah when on his way to Malwa, and was received with such kindness and respect as showed the desire of Sher Shah to win him over. The Shah's overtures were not successful, and at Barhampur Bairam Khan effected his escape, accompanied by Abu-l Kasim, formerly Governor of Gwalior. They were encountered by a party of Sher Shah's adherents, when Abu-l Kasim, who was a man of very noble presence, was mistaken for Bairam and seized. Bairam then manfully came forward and declared himself. Abu-l Kasim, in brave devotion to his friend, exclaimed, "This is my servant, who would sacrifice himself for me, take your hands off him." So Bairam Khan escaped, and went to Sultan Mahmud in Gujarat, who also wished to retain him; but the Khan pressed his desire of going on the pilgrimage. Ostensibly with this view, he went to Surat, but passed over to Kathiawar, and joined Humayun as above related. Abu-l Kasim was carried prisoner to Sher Shah, who had not the magnanimity to appreciate his friendly devotion, and put him to death. According to Abu-l Fazl, Sher Shah spoke afterwards of his conversation with Bairam Khan and of the conviction which he then felt of being unable to gain him. Bairam Khan had some reputation as a poet, and Badauni quotes some of his writings.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 224—Tabakat-i Akbari,—See also Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, p. 315, and Erskine's Babar and Humayun, vol. ii., p. 258.*

[88] *Mastang.*

[89] *One MS. reads "Jawani." The Akbar-nama has "Jini," and Erskine, "Chupi."*

ments. This man had received kindness from the Emperor. He obtained a powerful horse from Mirza 'Askari, and betook himself to the Emperor's camp. When he arrived, he dismounted from his horse, and went to the tent of Bairam Khan, whom he informed of Mirza 'Askari's advance, and of his designs against the Emperor. Bairam Khan immediately proceeded to the Emperor, and standing at the back of the tent he told him of Mirza 'Askari's approach. "What is the worth of Kandahar and Kabul," said the Emperor, "that I should strive with my faithless brothers?" Then he mounted his horse, and sent Khwaja-i Mu'azzam and Bairam Khan to bring up the Empress. They made all speed to do so, and conveyed her and the infant prince to the Emperor. There were very few horses in the Emperor's train, so Tardi Beg was asked for one. Again he gave a churlish refusal,[90] and would not himself accompany his master.

The Emperor determined to go to 'Irak, and started off thither, taking with him the Empress, and having only a few persons as escort. The young prince was only one year old, and the weather was very hot, so he was left behind. Mirza 'Askari soon afterwards reached the camp, when he was informed that the Emperor had gone safely off, leaving a party in charge of his camp. Next day, he, in his extreme insolence, entered the Emperor's audience hall, and Atka Khan delivered up to him the young prince. Under the orders of the Mirza, Tardi Beg was made prisoner, and officers were sent to search the tents and seize all the effects of the Emperor. Then he carried the prince off to Kandahar, and gave him into the charge of Sultan Begum, his own wife, who treated him with great tenderness.

The Emperor was accompanied by twenty-two persons, among whom were Bairam Khan, Khwaja Mu'azzam, Baba Dost Bakhshi, Khwaja Ghazi, Haidar Muhammad Akhtar-begi, Mirza

[90] *As Erskine remarks, Tardi Beg seems to have been a rough old soldier, who kept his own men and cattle in order, and resented any attempt to make him liable for the faults and negligence of others.—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 251.*

Kuli Beg, Shaikh Yusuf, Ibrahim Aishak-Akasi, and Hasan 'Ali Beg Aishak-akasi. They set off without even determining their route. When they had gone a little way, they fell in with three or four Biluchis, who directed them, and they arrived with great toil at the fort or Baba Haji. The Turks who were in the place gave them such provisions as they had. Khwaja Jalalu-d din, son of Mahmud, who had been sent by Mirza 'Askari to collect the revenues of this district, waited upon the Emperor, and presented him with horses, camels, mules, and such things as he possessed. Next day Haji Muhammad Koki, who had escaped from Mirza 'Askari, waited upon the Emperor. The hostile proceedings of his brothers made these parts no safe place for His Majesty, so he proceeded onwards towards Khurasan and 'Irak. Upon entering Sistan, Ahmad Sultan Shamlu, governor of the province under Shah Tahmasp, received him with the greatest kindness. He remained some days in Sistan, and Ahmad Sultan showed him every kind of hospitality and attention, sending even his own women to wait upon the Empress as handmaids. Ahmad also presented to him all kinds of provisions and necessaries, and enrolled himself among the number of his slaves. All these His Majesty courteously accepted, and then presented them to him.

Upon holding a consultation, Ahmad Sultan advised His Majesty to proceed to 'Irak by way of Tabas Kilaki, because that way was the nearest, and he offered to accompany him on the road. His Majesty replied that he had heard great praise of the city of Hirat, and that it would be more pleasant for him to proceed by that route. So His Majesty started for 'Irak, attended by Ahamad Sultan. At that time Sultan Muhammad Mirza, eldest son of Shah Tahmasp, was governor of Hirat, and Muhammad Khan Sharfu-d din Ughli Taklu held the post of Atalik or tutor to the young prince. When they heard of the near approach of the Emperor, they sent 'Ali Sultan, who was one of the nobles of Taklu, to meet him and conduct him in with due honour. He joined His Majesty on the borders of the territory of Hirat, and brought him with all ceremony to the city. The prince, with his officers and attendants, then proceeded to wait upon him and pay their respects omitting nothing that could do him honour.

Muhammad Khan was admitted to the privilege of an introduction.

His Majesty, with his retinue, halted at Hirat. Muhammad Khan treated him with the greatest hospitailty, and His Majesty was highly pleased with his reception. He received all that he could require, and lacked nothing until the time of his meeting with Shah Tahmasp. All the palaces and gardens of Hirat are beautiful to see, and His Majesty visited them, after which he took his departure for Meshhed and Tus. Shah 'Ali, Sultan Istajlu, governor of Meshhed, also did all in his power to show honour and hospitality to His Majesty, and under the orders of Shah Tahamasp, every governor on the route supplied him with all things he required. Under the orders of the Shah, a large number of nobles and great men went forth to meet him, and the arrangement was made that, from Damaghan tc the Shah's camp, one of these nobles was to have charge of the duties of hospitality in each march. Provisions were sent from the royal camp, and His Majesty was feasted at every stage until he reached Kazwin. The Shah's camp had been moved to Pulak-Surlik, and Bairam Khan was sent thither by His Majesty to wait on the Shah. He returned, bringing a letter congratulating His Majesty on his arrival. His Majesty continued his journey, and at every place he came to he received marks of attention from the people. At length he reached Pulak-Surlik, and had an interview with Shah Tahmasp, who entertained him and showed him every honour and distinction, worthy both of host and guest.

In the course of conversation, the Shah asked the Emperor what was the reason of his defeat, and he replied that it was the rivalry and faithlessness of his brothers. Bahram Mirza, the Shah's brother, was offended at this,[91] and treacherously advised the Shah to have the Emperor killed in the course of the night. But the Shah's sister Sultanam,[92] who was very highly esteemed

[91] *There is no meaning in the anecdote as here given. Shortly afterwards Bahram Mirza presented a bowl and ewer for the ablutions of the Shah, who turned towards Humayun and said, "This is the way you should have treated your brothers." Upon Humayun's assenting to this remark, Bahram's anger was kindled."—See Erskine, vol. ii., 290.*

[92] *Or Sultan Khanam.*

by her brother, and exercised great influence in all affairs of State, did all in her power to protect and help the Emperor. Kazi Jahan Kazwini, who was the Shah's *diwan,* and Hakim Nuru-d din Muhammad, who was his physician and was high in his favour and confidence, were not content to be at all wanting in goodwill towards the Emperor. The *hakim* both openly and privately lost no opportunity of forwarding the Emperor's interests. One day the Shah, in order to gratify the Emperor, went out with a party of nobles and grandees to hunt with bows and arrows. Bahram Mirza, who had an old quarrel with Abu-l Kasim Khulafa, under pretence of shooting at some animal, struck him in front with an arrow, and he died upon the spot.

Shah Tahmasp, having assented to the Emperor's wish to depart, provided all necessaries for his journey, and he appointed his son Shah Murad, then an infant at the breast, with a force of 10,000 men to protect him. Humayun expressed his intention of going to Tabriz and Ardabil, and the Shah wrote *farmans* to the governors of those places, directing them to show him every honour and attention. After travelling to those places, the Emperor turned towards Kandahar, and went to pay a visit to Meshhed the holy. He had brought the Kazilbash ( Persian ) prince with him, and Bidagh Khan, the prince's tutor, was commander of his army. When they reached the fort of Garmsir, they took possession of the Garmsir territories. On arriving at Kandahar, a large body of men sallied out of the fort and made what resistance they could, but were defeated. The Kazilbash army then encamped within view of Kandahar. Five days afterwards the Emperor arrived, and it was then invested. The siege went on for three months, and there were daily engagements, in which many men on both sides were killed.

Bairam Khan now went to Kabul on an embassy to Kamran Mirza. He was encountered on his way by a party of Hazaras, and a fight ensued, but he overpowered them and went on to Kabul. There he had an audience of Mirza Kamran, and he also had interviews with Mirza Hindal, Mirza Sulaiman, son of Khan Mirza, and Mirza Yadgar Nasir who had arrived from Bakhar in a distressed condition. Mirza Kamran sent Mahd.

'Ali Khan-zada-i begam to Kandahar with Bairam Khan to settle terms of peace if possible. When they arrived at Kandahar, and waited on the Emperor, Mirza 'Askari was still intent upon fighting (and holding out).

The Persian forces were disheartened by the long duration of the siege, and had thoughts of returning. They had conceived that when Humayun approached Kandahar, the Chaghatai tribes would rally round him. But when a long time passed, and no one came to his succour, and the fact of Mirza Kamran's advance to the assistance of Mirza 'Askari became generally known, the Persians were greatly alarmed. By a happy turn of affairs Mirza Kamran fell back, and Mirza Hussain Khan and Fazail Beg, brother of Munim Khan, deserted him and joined the Emperor. The Turkomans were inspirited, and after a few days Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Ulugh Beg Mirza, Kasim Husain Sultan, and Sher-afgan Beg came over. This greatly encouraged the Persians. Muyid Beg, who was a prisoner in the fort, managed to escape by stratagem, and let himself down from the walls by a rope. His Majesty received him with great kindness. A party also under the command of Abu-l Hasan, nephew of Karracha Khan, and Munawwar Beg, son of Mir Beg, escaped from the fortress. Mirza 'Askari now lost heart, and proposed to surrender. The Emperor in his great kindness granted him terms. He then called together the Persian commanders, and induced them to engage that for three days no one should molest the numerous Chaghatai families that were in the place. In consequence of this engagement, the garrison of the place came forth next day, with their wives and families. Mirza 'Askari also came out, and with shame waited on the Emperor, who uttered not a word of reproach. The Chaghatai chiefs, with their swords upon their necks and shrouds in their hands, were allowed to present themselves to the Emperor, and were pardoned.

It had been agreed with the Persians that as soon as Kandahar was taken it should be given up to them, and now the Emperor gave them possession of it, although he possessed no other territory. Bidagh Khan (and) Mirza Murad, son of Shah Tahmasp, were conducted into the fort, and the place was sur-

rendered to them. Most of the Persian chiefs returned to 'Irak, and no one remained with Mirza Murad except Bidagh Khan, Abu-l Fath Sultan Afshar, and Sufi Wali Sultan Kadamu.

When winter came on, the Chaghatai people had no place of shelter, so the Emperor sent a person into Kandahar to Bidagh Khan, to represent the need which they had of some protection to rigours of the winter. But he, in his inhumanity, did not make that reply which the emergency required. So the Chaghatais were in great trouble. 'Abdu-lla Khan and Jamil Beg, who had come out of Kandahhar, now fled to Kabul. Mirza 'Askari also, having found an opportunity, made his escape and brought back. His Majesty then placed him in confinement. The chiefs of the Chaghatai tribes (*ulus*) now met in council, and resolved that under the necessities of the case, the fort of Kandahar must be taken from the Persians, and should be given up to them again after the conquest of Kabul and Badakhshan. By a strange coincidence, it happened that Mirza Murad, son of Shah Tahmasp, died on that very day. So the enterprise was resolved upon, and a strong party was appointed to carry it out. Haji Muhammad Khan, (son of) Baba Kashka, went first of all to the gate of the fortress with two of his servants. The Turkomans, who suspected that the Emperor wanted to get possession of the place, had for some days past prevented the Chaghatais from entering the town. It happened that some camels laden with forage were going into the city, and seizing this opportunity, Haji Muhammad proceeded to the gate of the city. The guards assembled round the gate, and refused to let him enter. With great daring he drew his sword and attacked them, and they, unable to resist his onslaught, took refuge in flight. Another party now came up to support him. They entered the fort, and the Persians were overpowered. Humayun mounted his horse, and went into the city. Bidagh Khan, greatly annoyed, went to the Emperor, took leave, and departed for 'Irak. The Chaghatais, to their great satisfaction, thus obtained possession of Kandahar.

After this, Humayun marched to effect the conquest of Kabul, and left Bairam Khan in charge of Kandahar. Mirza

Yadgar Nasir and Mirza Hindal, having devised a scheme together, deserted from Mirza Kamran. After being much harassed by the Hazara tribes on their journey, they joined the Emperor and proceeded with him to Kabul. Jamil Beg, who was chief of the territories (through which the Emperor passed), also came in to offer his services. Mirza Kamran, who had a well-equipped army, marched out with the intention of fighting, but every night parties of men deserted his army, and joined Humayun. The Emperor then moved his camp, and advanced to a half *kos* distance from Kamran. That night many men left Kamran's army and deserted to the Emperor. Mirza Kamran, being alarmed, sent a party of Shaikhs to wait upon the Emperor and to ask forgiveness. The Emperor agreed to pardon him on condition of his coming in and making submission. Kamran did not accede to this, but fled and shut himself up in the citadel of Kabul. All his forces came over to the Emperor. On the same night Kamran quitted Kabul, and fled by way of Bini Hisar to Ghazni. Being informed of his flight, the Emperor sent Mirza Hindal in pursuit. The Emperor then entered Kabul, and at night the citizens, in the extreme of joy, illuminated the whole city with lamps. On his entering the palace, Her Highness the Begam brought the young prince Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar to his father's presence. This sight lighted up the heart of the Emperor with joy, and he offered up his thanksgivings for the reunion. The victory was accomplished on the 10th Ramzan, 953 H., when the prince was four years two months and five days old. Some place the event in the year 952;[93] but God knows the truth.

After this a person was sent to bring up the forces which were in Kandahar. Mirza Yadgar Nasir came to Kabul in attendance upon the Empress Maryam Makani Begam. Great feasts were then held, and the ceremony of circumcising the young prince was performed. The remainder of that year the Emperor spent in enjoyment at Kabul. When Kamran reached

[93] *The Akbar-nama (vol. i., p. 293) makes the date "12th Ramazan, 952".*

Ghazni, he could not get admission into the city, so he went off into the Hazara. Mirza Ulugh Beg was sent to take the government of Zamin-dawar, and Kamran, finding it impossible to remain in that country, went to Bakhar, to Shah Husain Arghun, who gave him his daughter in marriage and assisted him.

In the following year Humayun marched to Badakshshan, for Mirza Sulaiman, son of Khan Mirza, had disregarded the summons to come in and make his submission. It was therefore determined to invade Badakhashan. Mirza Yadgar Nasir had been engaged in hostile intrigues, and once more meditated flight. His intentions being made known to Humayun, an order was given for placing him in confinement, and a few days afterwards Muhammad Kasim, under the Emperor's orders put him to death.[94] The Emperor, passing over the heel of the Hindu-koh (Hindu-Kush), encamped at Shergiran.[95] Mirza Sulaiman assembled the forces of Badakhshan and gave battle, but he was defeated in the first action, and fled into the *kohistan* of Dur-dasht. The Emperor then proceeded to Talikan and Kisham[96] but he was taken ill, and from day to day he grew worse so that every one was in anxiety, and no one but his immediate attendants were sure of his being alive. There was consternation in the army, and Karracha Khan Mirza 'Askari in safe custody. The people of Badakhshan again commenced hostilities. After two months His Majesty recovered, and sent accounts of his convalescence to all parts. The disturbances thereupon subsided. The royal camp then moved to the neighbourhood of the fort of Zafar. Khwaja Mu'azzam, brother of the Empress Maryam Makani, killed at this time Khwaja Rashidi, who had come from 'Irak in the retinue (of the Emperor), and then fled to Kabul, where by command, he was placed in confinement.

[94] *Erskine (vol. ii., p. 327) says he was condemned after a regular trial, in which witnesses were examined and other evidence taken.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., pp. 298, 300.*

[95] *In one copy "Shahr-giran"—great city. Abu-l Fazl calls it "Tir-giran," one of the villages of Andarab.—Ib. p., 300.*

[96] *The version in the Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afghana here says, "The army moved with the intention of proceeding to the territory and the fort of Zafar and Kisham the Emperor fell sick."*

Mirza Kamran at Bakhar, when he was assured of Humayun's march to Badakhshan, assembled a force around him, and made a rapid march by Ghorband to Kabul. On his way he fell in with some merchants, from whom he obtained plenty of horses,[97] so that he supplied each of his men with a spare horse. When he reached Ghazni, a few individuals brought him into the fortress, and Zahid Beg, the governor of the place, being off his guard,[98] was put to death. Under the orders of the Mirza the roads to Kabul were guarded, so that intelligence might not be carried thither. He then marched rapidly on in full confidence to Kabul. Muhammad Kuli Tughai and Fazil Beg, and the force under their command in Kabul, were quite unprepared, when they were informed that Kamran had entered the city. Muhammad Khan was made prisoner while in his bath, and was instantly put to death. Upon entering the fort, Kamran captured Fazail Beg and Mihtar *vakil,* and he had their eyes put out. He appointed persons to guard the Emperor's ladies and the young prince.

Intelligence of the fall of Kabul reached the Emperor at Kila Zafar. The government of Badakhshan and Kunduz, which had been given to Mirza Hindal was transferred to Mirza Sulaiman, and Humayun then returned towards Kabul. Kamran meanwhile mustered all the forces he could. Sher-afgan, who was allied with him, and Sher 'Ali, one of his officers, advanced to Zuhak and Ghorband, and took possession of the roads. Humayun crossed the river in the valley of Zuhak, and drove before him Sher 'Ali, who resisted to the best of his power. Humayun then safely crossed the Shaki, but Sher 'Ali again annoyed his rear until he arrived at Dih-Afghanan (a suburb of Kabul). Next day Sher-afgan Beg sallied forth at the head of all Kamran's forces, and a great battle was fought in the lines of Yurtjalak. The leading forces of the Emperor were repulsed, but by the efforts of Mirza Hindal, Karracha Khan, and Haji Muhammad Khan, the enemy was eventually defeated. Sher-afgan Beg was taken prisoner, and when he was brought into the Emperor's

[97] *They were taken by force.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 308.*
[98] *According to Abu-l Fazl he was drunk.—Ib. p., 308.*

presence he was put to death, through the exertions of the nobles. Many of Kamran's men fell on this day, and those who escaped the sword fled into the fort. Sher 'Ali, a man of undaunted courage, sallied forth every day and kept up the fighting with all his vigour. On one occasion Sher 'Ali and Haji Muhammad Khan encountered each other, and the Haji was wounded.

Intelligence now came in that a caravan with a large number of horses had arrived at Charigaran,[99] and Kamran sent Sher 'Ali, with a considerable force, to bring these horses into the city. Humayun was aware of this movement, and drawing nearer to the city he completely closed all means of ingress and egress. When Sher 'Ali returned from his expedition, he could find no way of getting into the place. Kamran then sallied forth, and endeavoured to cut a way through for Sher 'Ali. But the besiegers were aware of a sally being intended, and when the forces came out they were received with a fire of guns and musketry and driven back. Baki Salih and Jalalu-d din Beg, two of Kamran's most trusted adherents, deserted from him and joined the Emperor. Sher 'Ali now gave up all hope of entering the city. Kamran, with dastardly feeling, ordered that His Highness the young prince Akbar should be exposed upon the battlements, in the place where the balls and shot of the guns and muskets fell thickest. But Maham Anka took the child in her bosom, put herself forward, and held him towards the enemy (*i.e.*, the garrison). So God Almighty preserved him. A part of the garrison made their way out and went off, all in one direction. Humayun sent men in pursuit, who killed many and made many prisoners. Kamran's spirits fell, and from all parts and quarters men came in to render assistance to the Emperor. Mirza Sulaiman sent reinforcements from Badakhshan, Mirza Ulugh Beg came from Kandahar, and Kasim Husain Sultan brought a body of men of Sarm Tugha as a reinforcement from Kandahar.

Mirza Kamran now sued for peace, and the Emperor granted it, upon condition of his making personal submission. But he

[99] *At the entrance of the Ghoraband valley, north of Kabul.*

was afraid to do this, and sought to make his escape. The chiefs of the Chaghatai tribes were of opinion that the capture of Kamran would be adverse to their interests, so they sent a message informing him that Humayun would, in a day or two, assault the fort, and advising him to delay no longer in the place. Kamran, who was offended with Namus Beg and Karracha Khan Beg, killed three young children of Namus Beg in revenge, and had their bodies cast down from the walls of the city—a cruel deed, which excited the abhorrence of all men both inside and outside the city. He also fastened Sardar Beg, the son of Karracha Khan, upon the summit of the ramparts. Humayun exerted himself to console Karracha Khan; and the Khan went close to the fort, and with loud voice declared that if his son were killed, both Mirza Kamran and Mirza 'Askari should be put to death when the city fell. Kamran now despaired on every point, so he caused a hole to be made through the wall, on Khwaja Khizr's side, and made his way out barefoot at the place indicated by the nobles (outside who were friendly to his escape). Humayun sent Haji Muhammad in pursuit, who nearly overtook him, and Kamran then called out in the Turki language, "I have killed your father Baba Kashaka." Haji Muhhammad was always ready for a quarrel, (but), when he heard this he returned. His Highness Prince Akbar now came to his father, and showed him all proper respect. Much charity was shown to the poor and needy.

After Kamran escaped, in a forlorn and destitute[100] condition, he reached the foot of the Kabul mountains, where he was met by a party of Hazaras, who plundered him of all he possessed. But one of the Hazaras recognized him, and informed the leader of the band, who conducted him to Zuhak and Bamian, where Sher 'Ali, his adherent still remained at the head of a small force. He remained there for a week, and nearly 150 horsemen joined him. Then he marched to Ghori, where Mirza Beg Birlas, the governor of Ghori, with a force of 150 horse and 1,000 foot, gave him a battle, and was defeated. The horses

[100] *Pareshan o be-saman. The context shows that this is not to be taken quite literally.*

and asses of the vanquished fell into the hands of the victor. Having gathered some strength, he went to Balkh, where he had a meeting with Pir Muhammad Khan, the ruler. Pir Muhammad followed his own inclination, and came to Badakhshan, to the assistance of Kamran. Ghori and Bakalan fell into the hands of Mirza Kamran, and many soldiers flocked to his standard. Pir Muhammad then returned to his own country. Kamran advanced against Sulaiman Mirza and Ibrahim Mirza, and, as they had no power to resist him, they went away from Talikan to Kolab. Kamran now established his authority over many parts of Badakhshan.

Karracha Khan, and some other nobles who had rendered good service in these days, now recommended some impossible steps to Humayun. One was the execution of Khwaja Ghazi, the *wazir*, and the appointment of Khwaja Kasim to succeed him. This proposition fell heavily on the heart of His Majesty, and he would not accede to their wishes. The noblemen then conspired together, and mounting their horses at breakfast-time, they drove off the royal flocks (*galah*), which were in Khwaja Riwaj, and went towards Badakhshan. After break of day and the assembling of the army, His Majesty mounted his horse, and went off in pursuit. The conspirators, by a forced march, reached Ghorband, and crossing the bridge they destroyed it behind them. The advanced guard of His Majesty came up with a party of them and inflicted chastisement. At night Humayun returned to Kabul, to make preparations for a march into Badakhshan. The conspirators went on to Kamran, leaving Tamar 'Ali in Panjshir, to collect and forward intelligence of Humayun's movements. His Majesty, having determined to go to Badakhshan, sent *farmans* to Mirza Sulaiman, Mirza Ibrahim, and Mirza Hindal. Mirza Ibrahim avdanced by way of the fort of Parian[101] into Panjshir, and getting knowledge of Tamar Ali Shaghali, he went after him and killed him. He waited upon the Emperor in the Karabagh at Kabul.

[101] *In the Panjshir valley, north of Kabul. See vol. III., p. 401 (Or. Ed.)*

At this time Mirza Kamran sent Sher 'Ali, at his own request, to contend against Mirza Hindal, but he was taken prisoner by some of Hindal's men. Mirza Hindal then went to see the Emperor, and took Sher 'Ali a prisoner with him. The Emperor, in his generosity, pardoned Sher 'Ali, and made a grant to him of Ghori. Kamran, having left Karracha Khan and his Kabul confederates at Kisham, had himself gone to Talikan. His Majesty thereupon sent Mirza Hindal and Haji Muhammad Koki in advance to Kisham. Karracha Khan then sent to inform Kamran that Mirza Hindal was approaching with a small force, while Humayun was at a distance, and that if he hastened up he might defeat Hindal, and so make the war against Humayun an easier matter. Karracha returned to Kisham with all the speed he could. When he reached the river of Talikan, he encountered Mirza Hindal, just as he had crossed the river. At the first charge Hindal's troops were defeated and lost all their baggage.

His Majesty now came up with his army, and was delayed a little in seeking for a ford. After getting over the river, his advanced guard came up with Kamran's rear, and made Shaikham Khwaja Khizr and Isma'il Dudli prisoners, and brought them in to the Emperor. Mirza Khamran faced round to repulse this advanced guard; but as they approached each other, he described the standards of the Emperor, and knowing that he was unable to contend with him, he retreated to Talikan, leaving all his plunder and all his own baggage behind him. Next day Talikan was invested, and Mirza Sulaiman came in and joined Humayun. Kamran then sought assistance from the Uzbeks, and when he found that he had nothing to expect from them he was greatly cast down, and sent to beg the Emperor to allow him to go to Mecca. Humayun generously granted his request, on condition that he would send the rebellious nobles to the royal court. Kamran begged forgiveness for Manus Beg, but sent the other *amirs*, who came ashamed and downcast to the royal presence.[102] The Emperor, a second time, forgave their offences.

[102] *Karracha Khan was among them, and came with a sword hanging to his neck.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 335.*

Mirza Kamran proceeded out of the fort, and went to the distance of a *parasang;* but when he was no longer in apprehension of any harm from the superior power of Humayun, he was greatly ashamed, and turned back with the resolve of paying allegiance to him. As soon as His Majesty was informed of this he greatly rejoiced, and sent out the *mirzas*[103] to give him a ceremonial reception. When they met, he displayed the greatest kindness to Kamran; who again received the ensigns of sovereignty. Three days they remained in the same place, and feasts and rejoicings went on. After some days the country of Kolab[104] was given as an *ikta,* to Kamran.[105] Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Ibrahim remained in Kisham. The royal camp then returned to Kabul, where it took up winter quarters, and an order was issued directing the officers to look after the equipment of the army.

At the end of the year Humayun left Kabul, with the intention of proceeding against Balkh, and a person went to Kolab to summon Mirza Kamran and Mirza 'Askari. When His Majesty reached Badakhshan, Mirza Ibrahim and Mirza Hindal came to wait upon him, and at the instance of Mirza Sulaiman, Mirza Ibrahim was left at Kisham. Mirza Kamran and Mirza 'Askari once more showed their hostility, and did not come in to pay their homage. Humayun marched on to the fort of Aibak, and the *atalik*[106] of Pir Muhammad Khan, governor of Balkh, with several of his chief nobles, had to take refuge in the fort, which Humayun then invested. The Uzbeks being reduced to extremity surrendered at discretion.

In consequence of Kamran's defection, a council of war was held to consider whether he might not make an attempt upon Kabul while the Emperor was engaged at Balkh. Humayun declared his opinion that as the invasion of Balkh had been

[103] *Hindal and 'Askari.*

[104] *"Khutlan, commonly known as Kolab."—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 338. It lies between Darwaz and Shughnan beyond the Oxus.—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 359. Burnes' Travels, vol. iii., p. 275.*

[105] *'Askari was allowed to go with him, and received the district of Karatigin in jagir.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 338.*

[106] *"Khwaja Mak" was the atalik.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 347.*

undertaken, it should be prosecuted in full confidence ; so the march was continued. But many of the men were discouraged by Kamran remaining absent. When the army came near Balkh, and was about to take up a position, Shah Muhammad Sultan Uzbek, with three hundred horsemen, made his appearance. A force was sent against him, and a sharp fight followed. Kabuli, brother of Muhammad Kasim Khan Fauji, was killed in the conflict, and one of the chiefs of the Uzbeks was taken prisoner. Next day Pir Muhammad Khan came out of the city, (and was joined by) 'Abul-l 'Aziz Khan, son of 'Abid Khan, and Sultan of Hissar,[107] who had come to his assistance.

After mid-day the two armies came in contact, and the battle began. Humayun was fully accoutred, and with Mirza Sulaiman, Mirza Hindal, and Haji Muhammad Sultan, defeated the vanguard of the enemy, and drove it back towards the city. Pir Muhammad Khan also and his men were repulsed and driven into Balkh. At sunset the Chaghatai troops, who had got near to the city, turned back. Many of the Chaghatai chiefs had their wives and families in Kabul, and were alarmed because Mirza Kamran had not joined the army. So the night before the day when Balkh would have fallen, they met together and conveyed their opinion to His Majesty that it was not advisable to pass over the river of Balkh, but rather to fall back towards Darra Gaz, and take up and secure a strong position ; then, after a short time, the garrison of Balkh would surrender. They urged their views so strongly that Humayun retreated. Darra Gaz is on the road to Kabul, so friends and foes, being unaware of what had passed in the council, conceived the notion that a retreat to Kabul was intended. The Uzbeks were emboldened, and followed in pursuit. Mirza Sulaiman and Husain Kuli Sultan, the seal-bearer, who protected the rear, had an action with the van of the Uzbeks, and were defeated, and then the chiefs who were anxious to go to Kabul made off thither, each one taking the road that pleased him. All control was lost. About a thousand of the enemy came up. His Majesty, who fought in

[107] *One MS. reads "Salatin-i Hissar," the Sultans of Hissar.*

the conflict, inflicted a wound with his spear on one of the foremost of the enemy and unhorsed him; and by the strength of his own arm he cut his way out of the confusion. Mirza Hindal, Tardi Beg, Muni'm Khan, and a party of other nobles saved themselves by fighting. Shah Bidagh Khan and Tolak Khan Kuchin performed deeds of great valour in this battle.

Humayun reached Kabul in safety, and remained there for the rest of the year. Mirza Kamran stayed at Kolab, and Chakar 'Ali Beg Kolabi, who was hostile to him, attacked Kolab with a large force. Kamran sent Mirza Askari against him, but 'Askari was defeated; and on being sent a second time, he again returned unsuccessful. Mirza Sulaiman and Mirza Ibrahim now marched against Kamran from Kisham and Kunduz and he, not having sufficient forces to oppose them, retreated to Rostak. A body of Uzbeks fell upon him on the march and carried off a large part of his baggage. In this distressed state Kamran wished to proceed by way of Zohak and Bamian into the Hazara. When Humayun was informed of this, he sent a force to Zohak and Bamian to protect the country. Karracha Khan, Kasim Husain Sultan, and some other traitorous nobles, despatched a messenger to Kamran, advising him to take the road to Zohak, and promising to join him in the day of battle. When Mirza Kamran come in sight, Karracha Khan and his associates cast the dirt of ignominy on their heads and deserted Humayun. Being joined by these men, Kamran offered battle. Although Humayun's force was small, it met the attack bravely, and a desperate fight followed. Pir Muhammad Akhta and Ahmad, son of Mirza Kuli, were killed in this fight. His Majesty exerted himself greatly. He received a sword-cut on the top of his head and his horse was wounded; but he kept his assailants off with his spear, and made his way out of the fight.[109] He then proceeded towards Zuhak and Bamian, and was joined by a party of fugitives, who had taken the same route.

Mirza Kamran now, once more, obtained possession of

[109] *See supra.*

Kabul. Humayun went with Haji Muhammad and a party of adherents towards Badakhshan. Shah Bidagh, Tolak Kuchin, and Majnun Kakshal, and a party of ten were sent out to reconnoitre in the direction of Kabul, but of the whole party, one only, Tolak Kuchin, returned to the Emperor. Astounded at the treachery of his followers, he went and encamped at Andarab. Here he was joined by Sulaiman Mirza Ibrahim Mirza, and Mirza Hindal, with their forces. After forty days Humayun marched towards Kabul. In the mountains he was met by Mirza Kamran, Karracha Khan, and the forces of Kabul.[110] The armies drew up against each other. Here Khwaja 'Abdu-s Samad Masur deserted Kamran and joined Humayun, who received him graciously. Kamran was defeated, and fled to the mountains of Mandrud.[111] The traitor, Karracha Khan, was taken prisoner, and was being conducted to Humayun, when Kambar 'Ali Bahari, whose brother had been put to death at Kandahar by order of the Khan, seized the opportunity and killed him. Mirza 'Askari fell into the hands of the Emperor's men in this battle.

The Emperor now returned to Kabul, and remained there for a year in peace. Again a body of soldiers, craving for action, went off and joined Kamran, and he collected round him a body of nearly 15,000 horse. Haji Muhammad Khan went off without leave to Ghaznin; so Humayun was compelled to march towards Lamghan and interrupt Kamran's proceedings. Then, in concert with the Afghans of Muhammad, the *khail* of Daudjai, and the chiefs of Lamghan, Kamran went off towards Sind. Humayun remained for a while in Lamghan hunting, and then returned to Kabul. Kamran, supported by the Afghans, again advanced, and once more Humayun marched out against him. Humayun sent to Bairam Khan, governor of Kandahar, directing him by some way or other to go to Ghaznin and secure Haji

[110] *Humayun tried to arrange matters peaceably, but his efforts were frustrated, chiefly by Karracha Khan's influence over Kamran.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 363. See Erskine, vol. ii., p. 391.*

[111] *"By the pass of Badbaj towards the Afghan country."—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 393.*

Muhammad Khan. The Haji had sent to Mirza Kamran, advising him to come to Ghazni, and take possession of the country, for he was ready to show his obedience. Hereupon Kamran marched from Peshawar by way of Bangash and Gurdez towards Ghaznin, but before he could reach there Bairam Khan had entered the city, and Haji Muhammad was compelled to go to him. Bairam Khan and the Haji went together to Kabul, and Kamran, hearing of this on his march, retreated to Peshawar.

Humayun now returned from Lamghan to Kabul, but a few days before his arrival Haji Muhammad had made his escape and had gone off again to Ghaznin. Bairam Khan was again sent with some other nobles after him, and when he brought him back the Haji received forgiveness. Mirza 'Askari, under the orders of Khwaja Jalalu-d din Mahmud, had been carried to Badakhshan and placed under the charge of Mirza Sulaiman, who was to convey him to Balkh;[112] and Sulaiman accordingly sent him thither. In the course of this journey 'Askari's days came to an end in the country of Rum.

The Afghans kept Mirza Kamran among them, and busied themselves in raising forces, so Humayun was compelled to go out against them. In the course of this campaign Haji Muhammad Khan was executed with his brother, in punishment of his many offences. Supported by the Afghans, Mirza Kamran made a night attack on Humayun's camp, and Mirza Hindal was killed in the engagement. The date of his death is found in the words "*Shahadat ash ba talab shud.*" Kamran's attack failed, and he retreated. The family and attendants of Hindal were sent to Ghaznin with the young prince Akbar, and the territory of Ghaznin and its dependencies was assigned to them as an *ikta'*.

When Humayun continued his advance against the Afghans, they were unable to protect Kamran any longer, so being without resource he fled to Hindustan, and took refuge with (Sultan) Salim Shah Afghan. All his people and followers were harried,

[112] *This was equivalent to banishment. 'Askari died between Damascus and Mecca in H. 965 (A.D. 1558)—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 397.*

and Humayun then returned to Kabul. After the army had taken a few days' rest, it marched by way of Bangash and Gurdez against Hindustan. All the disaffected in these parts received chastisement. Humayun crossed the Indus between Dinkot and Nilab ( 5 Safar, 962 A.H. 29 Decr. 1554 A.D. ).

Mirza Kamran, disgusted with the ungenerous treatment he received from Salim Shah *hakim* of Hindustan, had taken flight and escaped into the hills of Sialkot. From thence, by great energy, he had conveyed himself to Sultan Adam Ghakar. Thereupon Sultan Adam secured him, and wrote to inform Humayun. This overture was graciously received by Humayun, who sent Mun'im Khan to demand the captive. Sultan Adam surrendered Kamran, who was brought into Humayun's presence at Parhala. The Emperor, in his natural humanity, was ready to overlook the offences of Kamran, but the officers and the chiefs of the Chaghatai clans, who had suffered many things through Kamran's hostility, having agreed together, went to Humayun, and stated that the security of the Chaghatai clans and people depended on the destruction of Mirza Kamran, for they had repeatedly experienced the effects of his hostility. Humayun had no escape but by consenting that Kamran should be blinded. 'Ali Dost Barbegi, Saiyid Muhammad Bikna and Ghulam 'Ali *Shash-angusht* ( the six-fingered ), deprived Mirza Kamran of sight with a lancet.[113] The date of this event has been anticipated a little. Afterwards Mirza Kamran obtained permission to make the pilgrimage, and being furnished with all that he could require for the journey, he set out. He arrived at Mecca, and there died.[114]

Humayun, having reached the foot of the fort of Rohtas, determined upon the conquest of Kashmir. It was represented to him that a *zamindar* named Birana had a place in the hills so strong that none of the Sultans had been able to subdue it, and that he might protect the road and prevent the passage into Kashmir, so that the conquest would be difficult. But Huma-

[113] *See supra.*

[114] *Four years after, in H. 964 ( 5th October, 1557 A.D. )—Erskine, vol ii., p. 419.*

yun's judgment did not acquiesce in these objections, and he marched onwards. At this time the news arrived of the march of (Sultan) Salim Khan Afghan from Hindustan to the Panjab, and it caused great discontent in the army. When the time for departure arrived, those officers and *amirs* who were adverse to the Kashmir expedition went off all at once to Kabul. Upon the Emperor discovering that no one favoured the campaign in Kashmir, he returned towards Kabul. Crossing the Indus, he gave directions for rebuilding the fort of Bikram (Peshawar), and as his men laboured heartily in the work it was soon accomplished. Sikandar Khahn Uzbek was appointed governor of the fort. Upon Humayun's reaching Kabul, Prince Akbar set out for Ghaznin, and Khwaja Jalalu-d din Mahmud and a party of nobles proceeded thither in attendance upon him.

After a time the intelligence came from India of the death of (Sultan) Salim Khan, and of dissensions among the Afghans. Some designing persons had informed His Majesty that Bairam Khan entertained hostile intentions, so Humayun proceeded in force to Kandahar (which had been long held by Bairam Khan). The latter came forth to meet Humayun with due ceremony, and showed every mark of fealty and obedience. When Humayun returned he appointed Mun'im Khhan to Kandahar. But Mun'im Khan remonstrated, and said that an expedition to Hindustan was resolved upon, and if the chief men were offended and alienated, disaffection would arise in the army. After the conquest of Hindustan that course might be pursued which the necessities of the time might require. So the government of Kandahar was confirmed to Bairam Khan, and that of Zamindawar[115] to Bahadur Khan, brother of 'Ali Kuli Khan Sistani. The great camp then returned to Kabul, and the army was employed in preparing for the invasion of India.

One day when Humayun was riding about and hunting, he observed that as his mind was dwelling upon the invasion of India, he would ask the names of the first three persons he met, and would take them as auguries of the result. The first

[115] *It was taken away from Tardi Beg.—Erskine, vol. ii., p. 508.*

person they encountered, upon being asked, said, that his name was Daulat Khwaja. A little further on they met another villager, who said his name was Murad Khwaja. On this His Majesty observed how excellent it would be if the third person's name should prove to be Sa'adat Khwaja. At a short distance they met the third man, and his name really turned out to be Sa'adat Khwaja.[116] All the king's companions were greatly surprised and impressed with the result, and became sanguine of victory in Hindustan.[117]

In Zi-l hijja, 961 (November, 1553), the Emperor began his march. When the army encamped at Peshawar, Bairam Khan, according to orders, came up from Kandahar, and the royal standards passed over the river Indus. Bairam Khan, Khizr Khwaja Khan, Tardi Beg Khan, Iskandar Sultan, and some other nobles, went on in advance. Tatar Khan Kasi, the governor of Rohtas, although the fort had been strengthened, made no resistance and fled. But Adam Ghakar, although he owed service, did not join the army. Humayun continued his march towards Lahore, and when the Afghans of that city became aware of the near advance of his army, they took to flight. He entered Lahore,[118] without opposition, and then sent on the nobles in command of the advance to Jalandar and Sirhind. The districts of the Panjab, Sirhind, and Hissar all came without a struggle into the hands of the Chagahtai forces.

A body of Afghans having assembled at Dipalpur, under the leadership of Shahbaz Khan and Nasir Khan Afghan, the Emperor sent Mir Abu-l Ma'ali and 'Ali Kuli Sistani[119] to disperse them. The Afghans were defeated, and their baggage and their wives and families became the prey of the victors.

Sikandar Afghan, who held possession of Dehli, sent 30,000 men under Tatar Khan and Haibat Khan to attack the advanced forces in Sirhind. The Chaghatai forces concentrated

[116] *The three names signify prosperity, wish, success.*

[117] *This same story is told by Khondamir, who died twenty years before this time. See supra.*

[118] *2 Rabi'u-s sani, 962 H.; 23rd February, 1555 A.D.*

[119] *The "Khan-zaman" of Akbar's reign. The MS. calls him "Sistani" but it should be "Shaibani."*

at Jalandar, and for all the numbers of the enemy and their own paucity they were ready to fight. They advanced and crossed the Sutlej. Towards the close of day the Afghans became aware of their transit, and marched forth to give battle. Notwithstanding the strength of the enemy, the Chaghatai chiefs determined to fight, and as the sun went down a great battle began. The Afghans began the battle with their archers, but as it was getting dark the arrows took little effect on the Mughals, but the Afghans being greatly annoyed by the fire (*atashi*) threw themselves into a neighbouring village. As most of the houses in the villages of Hindustan are thatched, a fire broke out, and lighting up the field of battle the (Mughal) archers came out and plied their weapons heartily by the light of the burning village. The enemy, in the glare of the fire, presented a fine mark for their shafts, and being unable to endure longer took to flight. A great victory was gained, and elephants and much spoil fell into the hands of the victors. When the news of the victory reached Lahore, the Emperor was greatly delighted, and showed great honour to his generals. All the Punjab, Sirhind, and Hissar Firozah were now in his possession, and some of the dependencies of Dehli also were in the hands of the Mughals.

On hearing of this defeat, (Sultan) Sikandar Afghan marched forth to take his revenge, with 80,000 horsemen and elephants and artillery. He marched to Sirhind, and there he entrenched and fortified his camp. The Chaghatai generals strengthened the fortifications of Sirhind, and making a good show of resistance, they wrote letters to Humayun for reinforcements. He thereupon sent Prince Akbar towards Sirhind, and as he approached the generals came forth to meet him. The forces were drawn out in array with the greatest show against the enemy, who was four times more numerous than the Mughals. For some days the daring spirits in both armies challenged each other to combat and displayed their valour, till at length the vanguard of Prince Akbar was drawn up for battle. A second division, under Bairam Khan, Khan-Khanan, on the one side; and on the other a third division with Iskandar Khan, 'Abdu-lla

Khan Uzbek, Shahh Abu-l Ma'ali, 'Ali Kuli Khan, and Bahadur Khan. Then they attacked the enemy. In the engagement all the nobles exhibited dauntless courage and the most determined resolution. The Afghans, 100,000 in number, were defeated, being inferior in courage, and (Sultan) Sikandar fled. The victors pursued the enemy and put many of them to death; and having secured an enormous booty, returned triumphahnt to wait upon the Emperor and congratulate him. Under his orders a despatch of the victory was drawn, in which the honour of the victory was ascribed to Prince Akbar, and this was circulated in all directions.[120]

Sikandar Khan Uzbek was then sent on to Dehli, and the royal camp was moved to Samana. A body of Afghans in Dehli made their escape in hot haste, and Sikandar Uzbek entered and occupied the city. Mir Abu-l Ma'ali was sent to Lahore to keep in check (Sultan) Sikandar, who had fled into the Siwalik mountains. In the month of Ramzan the Emperor entered Dehli, and once more *khutba* was read and the coins were stamped with his name in the territories of Hindustan. The chiefs who had taken part in the campaign were most liberally rewarded, and each one was made the ruler of a province. The remainder of this year was spent in ease and enjoyment.

Abu-l Ma'ali, who had been sent to oppose (Sultan) Sikandar, treated the nobles who had been appointed to support him very unceremoniously, interfering with their territories and appropriating their treasure. So Sikandar daily grew stronger. This came to the knowledge of the Emperor, who immediately sent Bairam Khan in attendance upon Prince Akbar as his *atalik* or governor, to put an end to Sikandar's operations. Shah Abu-l Ma'ali was ordered to proceed to Hissar Firozah.

At this time a person named Kambar Diwana had collected round him a body of supporters in the Doab and Sambal and had taken and plundered Bayana. Unquiet and adventurous

120 *Ahmad Yadgar, whose history of the reign of Humayun is generally copied verbatim from this work, here makes a slight variation which is given.*

men gathered about him from all quarters. 'Ali Kuli Khan Sistani was sent against him, upon which he shut himself up in the fortress of Badaun. In the course of a few days 'Ali Kuli Khan took the fort, captured Kambar Diwana, put him to death, and sent his head to the Emperor.

But now the most extraordinary event occurred. On the 8th Rabiu-l awwal[121] at sunset, the Emperor ascended to the roof of the library, and there stood for a short time. As he was descending, the *muazzin* cried aloud the summons to prayer, and he reverently sat down on the second step. When he was getting up again his foot slipped, and he fell from the stairs to the ground. The people in attendance were greatly shocked and the Emperor was taken up senseless and carried into the palace. After a short time he rallied and spake. The Court physicians exerted all their powers, but in vain. Next day he grew worse, and his case was beyond medical help. Shaikh Juli was sent to the Panjab to summon Prince Akbar. On the 15th Rabi-u-l awwal, 963 H. (24th January, 1556), at the setting of the sun, he left this world for Paradise. The date of his death is given in the line, "*Humayun Badshah az bam uftad.*"[122]

He reigned for more than twenty-five years, and he was fifty-one years old. His angelic character was adorned with every manly virtue, and in courage and heroism he excelled all the princes of the time. All the wealth of Hindustan would not have sufficed to maintain his generosity. In the sciences of astrology and mathematics he was unrivalled. He made good verses, and all the learned and great and good of the time were admitted to his society and passed the night in his company. Great decorum was observed in his receptions, and all learned discussions were conducted in the most orderly manner. The light of favour shone upon men of ability and worth during his reign. Such was his clemency that he repeatedly pardoned the crimes of Mirza Kamran and the Chaghatai nobles, when they

[121] *The Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afghana gives the date 7 Zi-l hijja, 965 H.*

[122] *Abu-l Fazl observes that this makes the date one year less than it ought to be.—Akbar-nama, vol. i., p. 442.*

were taken prisoners and were in his power. He was particular about his ablutions (*wazu*) and never allowed the name of God to pass from his tongue until he had performed them. One day he called Mir 'Abdu-l Hai, the *sadar* or chief judge, by the name of 'Abdal. But when he had gone through his ablutions he apologized, and said that as *Hai* was a name of the Almighty he was unable to use that name before performing purification. Every apparent and conceivable virtue was manifest in him. May God have mercy on him !

Shaikh Juli, who was sent off to the Panjab during His Majesty's illness, obtained an interview with Prince Akbar at Kalanor. He communicated the fact of the King's illness, and intelligence of his death soon after he arrived. After due observance of the rites of mourning, the nobles who were in the suite of the Prince, under the leading of Bairam Khan, acknowledged the succession of the Prince, and so, on the 2nd Rabi'u-s sani, he ascended the throne of empire at Kalanor.

## SULTAN MUHAMMAD 'ADALI

Himun was a shopkeeper (*bakkal*) in the town of Rewari, in Mewat. He was afterwards superintendent of the markets and director-general of the army, but now he rose still higher, and came to be one of King 'Adali's chief advisers. . .

'Adali one day held a Court in the fort of Gwalior, and nobles of renown were present. A distribution of *jagirs* was being made and 'Adali made an order that the country of Kanauj, which was the *jagir* of Shah Muhammad Farmuli, should be taken from him and given to Sarmast Khan Sarbani. When this was announced, Sikandar Khan, son of Shah Muhammad, a young and daring man, cried out fiercely, "Things have come to pass that they are taking our *jagirs* away from us and are giving them to this set of Sarbani dog-sellers." His father, Shah Muhammad, was ill, but he forbade his son to utter such unseemly and harsh expressions. But the son retorted, "Sher Khan (Sher Shah) once put you in an iron cage and intended to take your life, but Salim Khan interceded for you and was the means

of delivering you from that peril. Now this Sur faction is determined upon ruining you, and you do not see it. These men will not leave you in peace, and why should we suffer this degradation?" Hereupon Sarmast Khan Sarbani, who was very tall and powerful man, placed his hand in a false coaxing way upon the shoulder of Sikandar, and said, "What does all this mean, my lad?" intending to make him prisoner. But Sikandar guessed his object, drew a dagger and inflicted such a wound upon the shoulder of Sarmast Khan that he fell dead at his feet. He then killed and wounded several others. In the midst of this scene 'Adali got up and ran into the women's apartments. Sikandar rushed after him, but 'Adali bolted the door on the inside, and with difficulty escaped. The nobles of 'Adali who were present drew their swords to prevent the escape of Sikandar who, raging like a maniac, cut down and killed and wounded wherever he went. This state of affairs went on for an hour or two (*yak do gari*), till Ibrahim Khan Sur, the husband of 'Adali's sister, drew his sword and wounded Sikandar. Others then fell upon him and despatched him. Daulat Khan Lohani killed Shah Muhammad Farmuli also with one blow of his sword.

On the very day of this tragedy it happened that as Muhammad Farmuli was going to wait upon 'Adali he met Taj Khan Kirani, brother of Sulaiman and 'Imad Kirani, as he was coming out of the fort of Gwalior, after having taken leave of the King. They both inquired as to each other's affairs, and Taj Khan said, "I am going to retire from this field of strife" (*m'arika*): "come with me, for here all things are changed." Muhammad Farmuli did not acquiesce, but went to pay his visit to 'Adali, when what we have seen happened.

[123] When Taj Khan fled from Gwalior, he formed designs against Bengal. 'Adali first sent a force after him, and then marched against him in person. The hostile forces met near

[123] *This and some other passages have been copied by the Tarikh-i Daudi, and are given in vol. iv., pp. 506, 507 of the original edition of Elliot-Dawson's History of India. This original version of the Tabakat seems preferable.*

Chhatra-mau, forty *kos* from Agra and thirty from Kanauj, and Taj Khan was defeated. He fled to Chunar, and on his way he took possession of several local treasuries belonging to 'Adali, and enriched himself with their contents. He also seized a troop (*halka*) of elephants, one hundred in number, and went and joined his brothers 'Imad, Sulaiman, and Khwaja Ilyas, who held several districts on the banks of the Ganges and at Khawaspur Tanda. Open war began, and 'Adali led his army from Gwalior to the banks of the Ganges, and there fronted his adversary. One day Himun told 'Adali that if he would give him a troop (*halka*) of elephants, he would cross the river and take the courage out of the Kirani rebel. 'Adali complied with this request, and Himun defeated the rebels.

Ibrahim Khan, son of Ghazi Khan Sur, had married the sister of 'Adali, and was one of the cousins of Sher Khan (Sher Shah). His wife found out that 'Adali intended to put him in confinement, so he fled from Chunar, and went to his father Ghazi Khan, who held the government of Bayana and Hindun. 'Adali sent 'Isa Khan Niazi in pursuit of him, and a fight took place near Kalpi, in which 'Isa Khan was defeated. Ibrahim then proceeded to Dehli and caused the *khutba* to be read in his name. Afterwards he took possession of Agra and of several districts. 'Adali, upon hearing of these conquests, marched against Ibrahim. On reaching the Jumna, Ibrahim Khan sent a person to 'Adali, promising that if 'Adali would send to him Rai Husain Jalwani, Bahadur Khan Sarwani, called A'zam Humayun, and some other great nobles, upon whose assurances of protection he could depend, he would come in and make his submission. These nobles were accordingly sent. But Ibrahim won them all over to his side, and then declared against 'Adali, who, having no hope of support, returned to Chunar. Ibrahim Khan now took the title of Ibrahim Shah, and assumed the insignia of royalty.

About this time also Ahmad Khan, another nephew of Sher Khan (Sher Shah), who was married to a second sister of 'Adali's, and was one of the territorial *amirs* of the Panjab, received the

support of Tatar Khan Kansi, Haibat Khan, and Nasib Khan, who were among the principal nobles of Salim Khan's (Shah's) time. Thus supported he assumed the title of "Sultan Sikandar," and led his forces against Ibrahim. The rival armies met at the village of Farra, ten *kos* from Agra. Sikandar's army did not exceed 10,000 horse, but Ibrahim had 70,000 horse and 200 persons to whom he had given velvet tents, banners, and kettle-drums. Sikandar offered peace, upon condition of receiving the government of the Panjab. But Ibrahim was proud of the great strength and preponderance of his army, so he rejected the peaceful overtures of Sikandar, and arrayed his army for battle. In the end Sikandar was victorious, and Ibrahim was compelled to fly to Sambal. Sikandar then became master of Agra and Dehli.

Intelligence now arrived that the Emperor Humayun had marched from Kabul to Hindustan, and had taken Lahore; so Sikandar gathered his forces and went towards that city. Ibrahim also collected a new army at Sambal, and went in the direction of Kalpi. 'Adali now sent Himun, the *bakkal*, who was his *wazir*, with a large army, and with 500 war-elephants and artillery, against Agra and Dehli. When Himun reached Kalpi, he resolved to dispose of Ibrahim first, and hastened to meet him. A great battle followed, in which Himun was victorious, and Ibrahim fled to his father at Bayana. Himun followed and invested Bayana which he besieged for three months.

Sikandar Khan, ruler of Bengal, now raised the standard of rebellion, and marched with the forces of that country against Jaunpur, Kalpi and Agra. 'Adali therefore summoned Himun, who accordingly raised the seige of Bayana. When he reached the village of Mandakar, six *kos* from Agra, Ibrahim came up and attacked his rear, but he was defeated and again fled to his father. From thence he went to the country of Bhath, and fought with the Raja Ram Chand, who made him prisoner. But the Raja showed him great honour, seated him upon the throne, and waited upon him as a servant. Here Ibrahim remained until a party of the tribe of Mianas,[124] who dwelt near Raisin, being

[124] *A tribe of Afghans.—Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii., p. 149.*

at enmity with Baz Bahadur, the ruler of Malwa, invited Ibrahim to be their ruler. They drew out their forces against Baz Bahadur, and Ibrahim joined them. Durgavati the Rani of Garha marched from her own country to support him. But Baz Bahadur hearing of this, sent some persons to the Rani, and induced her to relinquish this design and return home. Upon this defection Ibrahim thought it inexpedient to tarry longer where he was, so he went to the country of Orissa, one of the dependencies of the kingdom of Bengal. Here he remained until the year 975 (1567-8), when Sulaiman Kirani took possession of Orissa. Upon the faith of solemn promises he then came to see Sulaiman, who treacherously caused him to be slain.

The victorious Himun continued his march and joined 'Adali. They fought with Muhammad Khan Gauria at the village of Chappar-ghatta, fifteen *kos* from Agra, and Muhammad was killed. Thus victorious 'Adali went to Chunar, and sent Himun to Agra and Delhi to oppose the progress of Humayun. Sikandar Khan Uzbek,[125] Kiya Khan Gang,[126] and the other nobles who were in Agra, abandoned the city, and retreated before him towards Dehli. 'Isa Khan marched against Dehli, but being encountered and defeated by Tardi Beg Khan at Panipat, he was put to death by the Imperial officers. 'Adali was still at Chunar, when Khizr Khan, son of Muhammad Khan Gauria, caused the *khutba* to be struck under the title which he had assumed of Sultan Bahadur. To avenge his father, he made war upon 'Adali, and put him to death. Thus terminated the Afghan rule, and Hind came under the Imperial sway. 'Adali reigned for nearly three years.

[125] *Sikandar Khan was a descendant of the Uzbek kings, and was a prominent man in the reign of Akbar. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i, p. 365.*

[126] *Kiya Khan attained high rank in Akbar's reign, and appears frequently in the following pages. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., p. 343.*

REIGN OF THE EMPEROR JALALU-D DIN MUHAMMAD AKBAR [127]

Years of the Ihhahi ; or, Reign of Akbar.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 27 | Rabi'u-l Akhir, | 963 | 10 or 11 March, | 1556 |
| 2. | 9 | Jumada-l awwal | 964 | ,, | 1557 |
| 3. | 20 | ,, | 965 | ,, | 1558 |
| 4. | 2 | Jumad-l akhir, | 966 | ,, | 1559 |
| 5. | 16 | ,, | 967 | ,, | 1960 |
| 6. | 24 | ,, | 968 | ,, | 1561 |
| 7. | 5 | Rajab | 969 | ,, | 1562 |
| 8. | 15 | ,, | 970 | ,, | 1563 |
| 9. | 27 | ,, | 971 | ,, | 1564 |
| 10. | 8 | Sha'ban | 972 | ,, | 1565 |
| 11. | 18 | ,, | 973 | ,, | 1566 |
| 12. | 29 | ,, | 974 | ,, | 1567 |
| 13. | 11 | Ramazan, | 975 | ,, | 1568 |
| 14. | 22 | ,, | 976 | ,, | 1569 |
| 15. | 2 | Shawwal, | 977 | ,, | 1570 |
| 16. | 14 | ,, | 978 | ,, | 1571 |
| 17. | 25 | ,, | 979 | ,, | 1572 |
| 18. | 6 | Zi-l ka'da, | 980 | ,, | 1573 |
| 19. | 17 | ,, | 981 | ,, | 1574 |
| 20. | 27 | ,, | 982 | ,, | 1575 |
| 21. | 9 | Zi-l hijja, | 983 | ,, | 1576 |
| 22. | 20 | ,, | 984 | ,, | 1577 |
| 23. | 2 | Muharram, | 986 | ,, | 1578 |
| 24. | 12 | ,, | 987 | ,, | 1579 |
| 25. | 24 | ,, | 988 | ,, | 1580 |
| 26. | 5 | Safar, | 989 | ,, | 1581 |
| 27. | 15 | ,, | 990 | ,, | 1582 |
| 28. | 28 | ,, | 991 | ,, | 1583 |
| 29. | 8 | Rabi'u-l awwal, | 992 | ,, | 1584 |
| 30. | 19 | ,, | 993 | ,, | 1585 |
| 31. | 29 | ,, | 994 | ,, | 1586 |
| 32. | 11 | Rabi'u-s sani, | 995 | ,, | 1587 |

[127] *He is familiarly called Khalifatu-Mah.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 33. 22 Rabi'us sani | 996 | „ | 1588 |
| 34. 4 Jumada-l awwal, | 997 | „ | 1589 |
| 35. 14 „ | 998 | „ | 1590 |
| 36. 24 „ | 999 | „ | 1591 |
| 37. 5 Jumada-l akhir, | 1000 | „ | 1592 |
| 38. 17 „ | 1001 | „ | 1593 |
| 39. 28 „ | 1002 | „ | 1594 |
| 40. 9 Rajab, | 1003 | „ | 1595 |
| 41. 20 „ | 1004 | „ | 1596 |
| 42. 2 Shaban, | 1005 | „ | 1597 |
| 43. 13 „ | 1006 | „ | 1598 |
| 44. 23 „ | 1007 | „ | 1599 |
| 45. 4 Ramazan, | 1008 | „ | 1600 |
| 46. 15 „ | 1009 | „ | 1601 |
| 47. 26 „ | 1010 | „ | 1602 |
| 48. 6 Shawwal, | 1011 | „ | 1603 |
| 49. 17 „ | 1012 | „ | 1604 |
| 50. 28 „ | 1013 | „ | 1605 |

Akbar died on the 13 Jumada-s sani, 1014 ; 13 Oct., 1605.*

(*This table, as far as the 46th year, has been drawn up from the *Akbar-nama* of Abu-l Fazl, which is the most accurate of the authorities and most consistent with itself, though it occasionally shows a slight error, as in the 5th year, which must have begun on the 13th, not the 16th of Jumada-l akhir. The *Tabakat* and Badauni go astray at the 22nd year, which began at the end of 894 and ended on the 1st day of 986 Hijra. The 14th year began on the 24th Ramazan. The 15th on the 3rd Shawwal. For date of Akbar's death see Blockmann's Ain-i Akbari, Vol. i., p. 212.)

Shaikh Abu-l Fazl, in his great work entitled *Akbar-nama*, has recorded fully and circumstantially all the events in the life of God's vicegerent, from the day of his birth till the present year, the thirty-eighth year of the Ilahi era, and the year 1002 of the Hijra (1593-4 A.D.). But this humble servant of the State, Nizamu-d din Ahmad *Mutasaddi*, having written a history

of all the kings who have raised the banner of sovereignty in Hindustan, it is indispensable that he should also write a history of all the incidents in the life of the Emperor. The greatness of the theme will probably imbue his mind with ability to perform his undertaking. The history of this great Emperor must be the prominent feature in all books, so that there is little need of the present work, but as I have felt it my duty to write a history of the Sultans of Hindustan, it seems right to crown my work with a relation of the auspicious reign of this great Emperor.

It will be remembered that in the history of the reign of the late Emperor Humayun our narrative had reached the point where Prince Akbar was sent to the Siwalik hills along with Bairam Khan Khan-khanan, to crush Sikandar Afghan. When he reached the *pargana* of Kalanor, one of the dependencies of Lahore, the sad intelligence of the death of the Emperor his father was brought to him, and plunged him in the deepest sorrow. Bairam Khan, commander-in-chief, with the concurrence of the nobles and officers, raised His Highness to the throne in the town of Kalanor at noon-day of Friday, the 2nd of Rabi'u-s sani,[128] 963 H., with all due state and ceremony and letters of grace and favour were sent to all parts of Hindustan.

### FIRST YEAR OF THE ILAHI

The *Ilahi* is a true solar year beginning with the *Nau-roz*.[129] The first year of this auspicious era corresponded with Monday, the 27th Rabi'u-l akhir, 963 H. (10th March, 1556 A.D.).

Among the prominent events of the early days of the reign was the rebellion of Shah Abu-l Ma'ali. This young man was a descendant of the Saiyids of Turmuz, and was remarkable both for his beauty and intelligence. The late king had a great partiality for him, and this fostered his pride so that presumptu-

[128] *The MSS. have "Rabi'u-l awwal;" but this is inconsistent with the date mentioned elsewhere supra, and is opposed to all the other authorities.*

[129] *The Persian solar months are used in this era.*

ous ideas got the mastery over him, and his conduct was marked by some unseemly actions. The Khan-khanan arrested him and was about to execute him ; but the young Emperor was mercifully disposed and was unwilling that the beginning of his reign should be stained with the execution of a descendant of the Saiyids before any crime had been proved against him. So he placed him in the custody of Pahlawan Kal-gaz *kotwal*, and sent him to Lahore. Abu-l Ma'ali escaped from custody,[130] and the *pahlawan*, in shame for his fault, committed suicide.

So long as Skandar Afghan was in the field, the officers of the Emperor were unable to take any measures for the capture of the fugitive, but sent all their regular forces against Sikandar. The Imperial forces encountered the Afghans near the Siwalik mountains, and gained a victory which elicited gracious marks of approval from the Emperor.[131] Sikandar took refuge in the mountains and jungles, and the Imperial forces were engaged for six months in hunting him about and endeavouring to capture him. Raja Ram Chand,[132] Raja of Nagarkot, was the most renowned of all the rajas of the hills, and he came and made his submission. In consequence of the heavy rains, His Highness left these parts, and went to Jalandhar, where he stayed for five months.

Tardi Beg Khan, who was one of the most famous of the nobles of Humayun's reign, and held an exalted place in that monarch's estimation, in the same week that the Emperor died, caused the *khutba* to be read in Dehli in the name of the Emperor Akbar. He also, with the help of Khwaja Sultan Ali, *wazir* and *mir-munshi*, who was also *mir-i 'arz* and *mir-i mal*, kept under control the affairs of Dehli, and of Mewat and other *parganas*

[130] *He fled to the country of the Gakhars, and there collecting an army, he invaded Kashmir, but was defeated. Obliged to leave the Gakhar country, he went and hid at Dipalpur, but was discovered, and sent a prisoner to the fort of Bayana.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 10.*

[131] *The Emperor went as far as Damhari, and Bairam Khan commanded. The war lasted three months.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 23, Badauni, vol. ii., p. 12.*

[132] *Abu-l Fazl and Firishta call him "Dharm Chand;" Badauni "Ram Chand".*

which had but lately been brought under royal authority. He sent Mirza Abu-l Kasim, son of Prince Kamran, along with the effects and establishments and war-elephants of the late Emperor, to his successor, the Emperor Akbar.

When Humayun marched to Hindustan, he consigned the government of Kabul and Ghazni to Mun'im Khan, one of his chief nobles, and he also made him guardian (*atalik*) of his son, Mirza Muhammad Hakim. He alo left there all his ladies. The city of Kandahar and its dependent territories were the *jagir* of Bairam Khan Khan-khanan. By the kindness of His Majesty the government of Badakhshan was consigned to Mirza Sulaiman, son of Khan Mirza, son of Sultan Mahmud, son of Mirza Sultan Abu Said Gurgan. When the intelligence of the facts (of the death) of Humayun reached Mirza Sulaiman, ambitious designs took hold of him, and, with his son Mirza Ibrahim, he marched against Kabul, and laid siege to it. Mun'im Khan wrote a full report of all the facts of the matter, and sent it to the Emperor. But before his despatch arrived, Akbar had sent Muhammad Kuli Birlas, and some other nobles, to Kabul to fetch the ladies who had been left there. When the news of the siege of Kabul arrived, an imperative *farman* was issued, directing these nobles to make all haste to Kabul, and to raise the siege. When these nobles passed the Nilab (Indus), Mirza Sulaiman saw that he could effect nothing by hostile means, so he employed as an intermediary Kazi Khan Badakhshi, who was one of his confidential nobles, and one of the holy men of the time, to inform Mun'im Khan that if his name were recited in the *khutba*, he would take his departure. Mun'im Khan knew that the garrison of the fort was suffering from the protracted siege, so he consented that the name of Mirza Sulaiman should be mentioned in the list of the titles (*zail i alkab*) of His Majesty the Emperor. When Mirza Sulaiman was informed of this concession, he immediately departed for Badakhshan.

Soon after the accession of the Emperor, 'Ali Kuli Khan[133]

[133] *'Ali Kuli Khan was an Uzbek, and son of Haidar Sultan Shaibani, a staunch adherent of Humayun.*

received the title of *Khan-zaman* and marched towards Sambal to repress Shadi Khan Afghan, one of the nobles of Sultan Muhammad 'Adali. When he reached the banks of the Rahab, he sent some of his men over the river with 2000 or 3000 horse to reconnoitre the enemy. This detachment crossed the river without care and circumspection, and Shadi Khan, perceiving his opportunity, suddenly fell upon them. Many of Khan-zaman's men were killed, and many were drowned in the river. When the Khan received intelligence of this he consulted with the nobles who were with him, such as........., upon the propriety of crossing the river to avenge this disaster. Just at this juncture, letters arrived from Tardi Beg Khan and other nobles who were in Dehli,[134] stating that Himun, the *vakil* of Muhammad Khan 'Adali, had approached Dehli with a large force and many elephants, intent upon battle, and that they should bring up their forces with all possible speed. Khan-zaman and all the faithful and prudent nobles marched off instantly towards Dehli; but before they arrived, Tardi Beg Khan had been defeated. This matter has been recorded among the incidents of the reign of Sultan 'Adali, and there is no need to repeat it here.

When Himun approached Agra, Sikandar Khan Uzbek, the governor of that city, was obliged to evacuate the place and join Tardi Beg Khan. 'Abdu-lla Uzbek, Lal Sultan Badakhshi, 'Ali Kuli Andarabi, Mirak Khan Kolabi, Haidar Muhammad Akhtabegi, and Mirza Kuli Beg Khan assembled. Maulana Pir Muhammad Shirwani also came to Tardi Beg on a mission from Bairam Khan. These all brought reinforcements with them. As Himun drew near to Dehli, the great nobles led their forces out of the city, and marshalled them in the field in sight of the enemy. Sikandar Khan and 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek and Lal Sultan Badakhshi, who were on the right wing, defeated the forces opposed to them. Then Himun, with a reserve which he had and some fierce elephants, made an attack upon the Mughals, and Tardi Beg Khan, being unable to repel this assault, was obliged to retreat. But although Himun had thus, by his tactics

[134] *Akbar had made him governor of Dehli.—Faizi Sirhindi.*

and artifice, prevailed over Tardi Beg Khan, he did not think of pursuing him. That portion of the enemy's army which had been defeated, finding themselves, to their surprise, unmolested, returned to the scene of action, and then learned that Tardi Beg Khan had been discomfited and put to flight. Himun then occupied Dehli, and Tardi Beg Khan and the other nobles proceeded to the Emperor. Khan-zaman joined them at the town of Sirhind.

The Emperor and his followers were engaged at Jalandhar in counteracting the efforts of Sultan Sikandar. When the intelligence of this disaster reached him, he appointed Khwaja Khizr Khan, who belonged to the lineage of the Mughal Sultans, and had married Gulbadan Begam, the aunt of the Emperor, to oppose Sultan Sikandar, while he himself marched to Dehli. Upon his reaching the town of Sirhind, the defeated nobles waited upon him. But Khan-khanan, who had the general direction of state affairs, had deemed it desirable to destroy Tardi Beg Khan. So he had summoned[135] him to his tent, and had caused him to be put to death.[136] He had also placed in confinement Khwaja Sultan 'Ali and the *Mir Munshi* and the *Khanjar-beg* of Tardi Khan. When the royal tents were pitched, 'Ali Kuli Khan and.........were sent forward with the advanced forces, and the Emperor followed to confront the enemy.

Himun had greatly vaunted his achievements at Dehli, and had taken himself the title of Raja Bikramajit.[137] He had

[135] *The word used is "talbid," but Abu-l Fazl says it was a friendly invitation.*

[136] *There had been a long-standing quarrel, aggravated by sectarian bitterness, between Bairam Khan and Tardi Beg. Badauni (ii. 14) says that Bairam Khan got a kind of permission from the Emperor to put Tardi Beg to death. Abu-l Fazl and Firishta, however, show that he had some difficulty in justifying the act. Firishta states that "he understood from the best informed men of the times that had Tardi Beg Khan not been executed by way of example, such was the condition of the Mughal army and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sher Shah would have been acted over again."—Briggs, vol. ii., p. 186.*

[137] *The MS. of the E. I. Lib., which often contains a word or two more than the other MSS. which have been used, here observes parenthetically, "This Bikramjit was a raja, who held dominion over the greater part of Hindustan, and the Hindus believe that one thousand six hundred years have passed since the time of his ascendancy."*

gathered under his command a mighty force, and had fifteen hundred[138] war-elephants. With these he hastened to meet the Imperial army. He had sent on his artillery[139] in advance, and a detachment of the Emperor's army, which had gone forward, fell in with the artillery at Panipat, and took it at the point of the sword. When Himun was informed of this disaster, he was much depressed, but he promised his officers an increase of their emoluments, and gave to each one an elephant on which to ride and exhibit his devotion. He himself mounted an elephant named *Hawa* ( Wind ), and went forth with scowling brow to meet his royal adversary.

On the morning of Friday ( 2nd ) Muharram, 964 H. ( 5 November, 1556 ) the intelligence of his march was brought in from the advanced guard, and the generals marshalled their forces to receive the attack. Husain Kuli Beg and.........other brave officers fought bravely, and defeated their adversaries. Himun then advanced with his elephants, and made such a determined charge on the Imperial army that the left wing was shaken.[140] But by the exertions of the brave archers and by resolute use of spear and sword, firmness was restored. Himun then drew off his forces, and made an assault upon the centre, which was under the command of Khan-zaman. He led all his elephants against the Khan's men, who received him with showers of arrows. An arrow pierced the eye of Himun, and came out at the back of his head. When those who were fighting under him saw his condition, their hands were paralyzed, and they broke. The Imperial forces pursued them, and cut many to pieces.

[138] *Alfi augments the number to "nearly three thousand, a number that for many a long year had not been gathered together in India," and adds that more than a thousand were captured. Abu-l Fazl ( ii. p. 50 ) and Badauni ( ii., p. 16 ) say that 1500 were captured.*

[139] *"Which was obtained from Turkey : az mamalik-i Rum nishan mi-dad."—Faizi Sirhindi.*

[140] *According to Abu-l Fazl, Himun divided his army into three divisions. He himself commanded the centre, which was composed of 500 elephants and 20,000 Afghan and Rajput horse.*

The elephant on which Himun was riding, when Himun fell wounded in the *howda* and its driver was killed,[141] made off towards the jungle. It so happened that Shah Kuli Khan fell in with this elephant, and made his own driver mount it. The driver then perceived that there was a man lying wounded in the *howda,* and upon examination this person proved to be Himun himself. Shah Kuli Khan, fully alive to the importance of his discovery, drove the elephant, along with several others which had been captured in the field, to the presence of the Emperor. Bairam Khan Khan-khanan then put Himun to death with his own hand.[142]

Sikandar Khan Uzbek, according to orders, pursued the fugitives to Dehli and sent many of them to hell. Next day the army marched from Panipat, and without halting anywhere went straight to Dehli. All the inhabitants of the city of every degree came forth to give His Majesty a suitable reception, and to conduct him with due honour into the city. He remained there one month. Intelligence was brought in that all the children and dependents of Himun, with his treasures and effects, were in Mewat; so Maulana Pir Muhammad Shirwani was sent thither. He captured all the persons, and took possession of all the treasures and valuables, and conducted them to the foot of the throne.[143]

[141] *Abu-l Fazl states that Himun's own driver, in fear of his life, betrayed his master.—Akbar-nama, vol. .ii., p. 49*

[142] *Badauni, Abu-l Fazl and Faizi all state that Bairam Khan killed Himun after having failed, to induce the Emperor to do so. Bairam Khan said, according to Badauni, "This is your first war (ghaza), prove your sword on this infidel, for it will be a meritorious deed.' Akbar replied, 'He is now no better than a dead man, how can I strike him.? If he had sense and strength, I would try my sword.' Then, in the presence of them all, the Khan, as a warrior of the faith, cut him down with his sword." Himu's head was sent to Kabul, and his body to Dehli, to be exposed over the gates.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 51; Badauni, vol. ii., p. 16; Tarikh-i Alfi; Akbar-nama of Faizi Sirhindi. See also supra.*

[143] *Alfi adds that many Afghans were killed, and that Mewat was annexed to the Imperial dominions.*

SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, the 9th Jumada-l awwal, 964 H. (10 March, 1557). Intelligence arrived that Khizr Khan Khwaja[144] had been defeated[145] by Sikandar Afghan ; the Emperor therefore set out for Lahore, to oppose the victor. When he reached Jalandhar, Sikandar fell back to the Siwalik hills, and the royal forces pursued him to Disawa,[146] and from thence to Damhari. It now became obvious that Sikandar meant to retreat, and had no intention of fighting. A party of distinguished nobles was sent in pursuit, and by rapid marches came up to the camp of Sikandar. He then shut himself up in the fort of Mankot.[147] The Imperial army followed, and laid siege to the fort. Day by day the batteries were advanced, and the garrison was closely pressed.

At this time Her Highness Mariam Makani, mother of the Emperor, with other royal ladies, arrived in Hindustan from Kabul, to the great satisfaction of the Emperor. Muhammad Kuli Birlas, Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan Atka, and the other great nobles who had been sent to assist Mun'im Khan at Kabul against Mirza Sulaiman, at the same time returned to Hindustan to the service of their master. When the ladies were about the distance of a stage from the Imperial camp, the Emperor left Bairam Khan in command of the army, and went forth to meet them, his heart receiving great comfort from the reunion.

After a prolonged siege,[148] Sikandar Afghan, being hard

[144] *Governor of Lahore.—T. Alfi.*

[145] *At the village of Chamiyari, twenty kos from Lahore.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 17. According to Abu-l Fazl, it was only an advanced force of 2000 men that was defeated. But still the Emperor was informed by all who came from the Panajb that the whole force of the empire would be reqiured to put down Sikandar.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 58.*

[146] *"Diwaja" in some copies. Badauni says (vol. ii., p. 18) "Disawa and Dihmiri." The Akbar-nama (vol. ii., p. 61) "Dehsuna and Damhari."*

[147] *It consists of four strong towers, built by (Sultan) Salim Khan Afghan, when he warred against the Ghakars."—Akbar-nama, p. 62; T. Alfi; Akbar-nama of Faizi. See supra. Vol. IV., p. 494 (Or. Ed.).*

[148] *Nearly six months, and after mounds (sarkobs) and batteries had been brought close up.—Alfi. Badauni adds (vol. ii., p. 18) that*

pressed, requested that some confidential noble might be sent in to arrange terms with him.[149] The Emperor commissioned Atka Khan to perform this duty. When he entered the fortress, Sikandar addressed him in very deprecatory terms, confessing that he had been very bold and presumptuous, and that he knew he had no chance in resistance. He begged that he might be permitted to retire to Bengal, promising to remain faithful in his allegiance, and offering to leave his son as a hostage. Atka Khan returned and reported these proposals, through Pir Muhammad Khan, to the Khan-khanan, and upon his communicating them to the Emperor, they were graciously approved. Sikandar accordingly sent his son, 'Abdur Rahman, along with Ghazi Sur, and he also sent with them several war-elephants and various articles of tribute. So on the 27th Ramazan, 964, the fort was surrendered to the royal forces.[150] On the 2nd Shawwal the army marched on its return towards Lahore. After four months and fourteen days the army marched from Lahore on its return to Dehli.

One day, while the army was lying before Mankot, His Majesty had two elephants, named respectively Fatuha and Bakhsha, brought out to fight for his amusement; and as the animals pressed each other, they approached very close to the tent of Khan-khanan. It so happened that the Khan was ill, and confined to his bed with boils. The suspicion came into his mind that the elephants were perhaps directed thither by the royal servants, and this idea was encouraged by the people who were around him. So he sent a person to the Emperor to inquire what fault his detractors had imputed to him, that he should have been subjected to this mark of the royal dis-

*grain had become very scarce in the fort, and that desertions daily took place.*

[149] *Abu-l Fazl and Faizi say that the defeat and death of 'Adali had its effect in bringing about the surrender.—Akbar-name, vol. ii., pp. 72-73. See supra.*

[150] *Sikandar received the districts of Bihar and Kharid in jagir. He died two years later.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 73.*

pleasure.[151] After returning to Lahore Khan-khanan still harped upon this matter; and sending for Shamsu-d din Muhammad Atka, he told him his suspicion, that this unkind action of His Majesty had been instigated by him. When Atka Khan heard this charge, he was much distressed; so he took all his sons with him to the house of Khan-khanan, and by taking an oath upon the Kuran removed his suspicions.[152]

After four months and fourteen days, the army marched[153] from Lahore to Dehli. Upon reaching Jalandhar a halt was made, and Khan-khanan was married to Sultan Begam, daughter of Mirza Nuru-d din who was a son of the sister of the late Emperor Humayun. The Emperor Humayun, during his life-time, had promised her to the Khan khanan, and now, under the orders of the Emperor Akbar, the union was accomplished. Khan-khanan gave a splendid banquet to which he invited His Majesty, who was graciously pleased to honour it with his presence. The Khan was profuse in his generosity on the occasion. At the beginning of the third year of the Ilahi, the army recommenced its march for Dehli.

## THIRD YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year coincided with Tuesday, 20th Jumada-l awwal, 965 H. (10th March, 1558), and on the 25th Jumada-s sani His Majesty arrived at Dehli. He then turned his attention to the concerns of his subjects and army, and justice and mercy held a prominent place in his councils. The Khan-khanan, in concert with the ministers and nobles of the State, used to attend twice a week in the *diwan-khanah,* and transact business under the directions and commands of His Majesty.

[151] *According to Abu-l Fazl, Bairam Khan made his communication through Maham Anka (Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 74). "The Emperor assured him that it was accidental."—Alfi.*

[152] *This paragraph is omitted in one MS., but the 'T. Alfi' tells the story in strict agreement with this.*

[153] *On the 15th Safar, 965 H.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 79.*

*Infatuation of Khan-zaman for one of the royal troopers*

In this year Musahib Khan, son of Khwaja Kalan Beg, one of the principal nobles of the late Emperor, was put to death by order of the Khan-khanan, because he had shown great ill-feeling and malice towards the Khan.

One day in this year His Majesty went out riding on an elephant called Lakhna, and as he was going along, the animal rushed after another elephant. It so happened that he came to a ditch into which he stumbled, and the Emperor was thrown from his seat on the neck of the animal, but his foot was caught in the rope[154] which was tied round the beast's neck. The man who was riding behind him came to the ground, but His Majesty clung to the rope until a number of persons collected and released his foot. The elephant extricated himself by his own strength, and His Majesty again mounted him and returned home. After the expiration of six months the Emperor embarked in a boat and fell down to Agra, where he arrived on the 17th Muharram, 966 H. ( 30th Oct. 1558 ), in the third year of the Ilahi.[155]

One of the most important incidents of this year was that relating to Maulana Pir Muhammad Shirwani. The Pir was the general manager ( *wakil-i mutlak* ) of the Khan-khanan,[156] and all the business of the State passed through his hands. He was the person to whom the nobles and officers had to make their applications, and of the many, high and low, who attended at his door, he admitted hardly any one. His temper now became so arrogant and perverted that for some days he would not come out of his house. The Khan-khanan went to call upon him as upon a sick person. The slave asked the Khan-khanan to wait

[154] *Which in Hindi they call "kawana."—Akbar-name, vol. ii., p. 90. It is the band in which the driver fixes his feet.*

[155] *"He took up his residence in the citadel ( ark ) of the city which was called Badal-garh."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 95.*

[156] *Badauni relates that the Khan-khanan and Pir Muhammad were one day out hunting together, and that the former being hungry, the Pir entertained him and his suite. To the great astonishment of the Khan Pir Muhammad's hunting equipage supplied thirty ( three ? ) hundred goblets of sherbet and eight hundred dishes of food.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 26.*

until he had made known his wish to the Pir. This greatly incensed the Khan-khanan. When Pir Muhammad was informed of what had passed, he rushed out, and made many apologies to the Khan-khanan, who told him how the slave had refused him admission. The Pir made the excuse that the slave did not know him. Khan-khanan asked him how he knew what the slave thought. But for all that had passed, when the Khan-khanan went in, his servants were not permitted to attend him, excepting Tahir Muhammad Sultan, *Mir-i faraghat,* who made his way in to look after his master. The Khan-khanan sat for a while; but when he came out, he thought over this conduct of Pir Muhammad. After a few days he sent Khwaja Aminu-d daula Mahmud, subsequently Khwaja-i Jahan, Mir 'Abdu-lla Bakshi, Khwaja Muhammad Husain Bakhshi, and several other of his followers to Pir Muhammad Khan, with this message : "Formerly you were a poor student, and came to Kandahar in a needy, forlorn condition ; but I perceived some signs of excellence in you, and remembered some old services. I therefore advanced you to the dignity of Khan and Sultan. But your nature is unable to bear this great advancement, and the bad points in your character get the mastery of you. I therefore think it advisable to deprive you for a time of royal distinctions and dignity, so that you may come to your proper senses. You must return your banner, kettle-drum, and all other marks of honour." So all signs of dignity were immediately taken away from him, and he became simple Pir Muhammad. Some days afterwards he was taken to the fort of Bayana, under Khan-khanan's orders, and from thence was sent to Mecca ; but he proceeded to Gujarat, and there remained until after the fall of Bairam Khan, when he returned to Court.

The office of *vakil* to Khan-khanan, which was thus taken from Pir Muhammad, was given to Haji Muhammad Sistani, who was one of the Khan's servants. At this time the dignity of *Sadarat-i mamalik* ( office of Lord Chief Justice ) was conferred upon Shaikh Gadai, son of Shaikh Jamal Kambu of Dehli, through the interest of Khan-khanan, who remembered the kindness which he had received from the Shaikh during the time of

his exile in Gujarat.[157] The honour thus conferred gave the Shaikh precedence over the grandees (*akabir*) of Hindustan and Khurasan. At the same period also that pattern of great men, Mir 'Abdu-l Latif Kazwini, was appointed tutor to His Majesty, and His Majesty used often to read with him *ghazals* of Hafiz, who is called Lisanu-l ghaib.[158]

The fort of Gwalior was celebrated for its height and strength, and had always been the home of great *rajas*. After the time of Salim Khan (Islam Shah) the fort had been placed in the charge of Suhail, one of his *ghulams*, by Sultan Muhammad 'Adali. When the throne of Akbar had been established at Agra, Habib 'Ali Sultan, Maskud 'Ali Kor, and Kiya Khan were sent to take the fort. They invested it for some days, and the garrison being in distress surrendered.[159]

## FOURTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Friday, the 2nd Jumada-l akhir, 966 H. (10th March, 1559 A.D.). In this year Khan-zaman was sent to reduce Jaunpur, the capital of the Sharkiya kings, which was now in possession of the Afghans. He accordingly marched thither with a large force, and having won great victories, he annexed that country[160] to the Imperial dominions. In this year Habib 'Ali Khan was sent against the fort of Rantambhor. During the rule of Sher Khan Afghan this fort was under the charge of Haji Khan, one of his *ghulams*, and this Haji Khan had now sold the fort to Rai Surjan,[161] a relation (*az khishan*) of Rai Udi Singh, who held great power in these parts. He had brought all the *parganas* under his rule, and had enforced his authority. Habib 'Ali, with his army, invested the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood; the *amirs* then departed to their *jagirs*.

157 *According to Abu-l Fazl he exercised great influence over Bairam Khan, and this appointment had a baleful effect.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 109.*

158 *gazalhai lisan u'l pish-i mir mikhwanand.*

159 *In Rabi'ul-akhir.—T. Alfi*

160 *"And Benares."—T. Alfi.*

161 *See Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 409.*

Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus arrived at Agra from Gujarat; but as a memoir of the Shaikh is given among the memoirs of the *shaikhs* of the age in this work, it is unnecessary to dilate upon the subject here. To be brief, in the year 966, the Shaikh arrived with his disciples and a large party at Agra, and was honoured with a royal reception. But there was ill-feeling between him and Shaikh Gadai, and Shaikh Gadai held great ascendancy over Khan-khanan; the consequence was that Shaikh Muhammad did not receive that attention from the Khan-khanan that he had expected. He was greatly annoyed at this, and went off to Gwalior, which was his place of residence, and there remained until the end of his days, discharging the duties of a Shaikh. His Majesty settled upon him one *kror* (of *tankas*?) as a pension.

At this time, while the Court was at Agra, Bahadur Khan,[162] brother of Khan-zaman, marched to effect the conquest of Malwa, which had formerly belonged to the Khilji monarchs, but which had been brought into subjection by Baz Bahadur, son of Shuja Khan Afghan.[163] He had reached the town of Siri when the agitation arose about Bairam Khan, and under the orders of the Khan he returned.

## FIFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year was Saturday, 16th Jumada-l akhir, 967 H. (10th March, 1560 A.D.). The general management of Imperial affairs was under the direction of Bairam Khan; but there were envious malignant men, who were striving to ingratiate themselves in His Majesty's favour, who lost no opportunity of speaking an ill word to pervert the mind of the Emperor. Prominent among these men was Adham Khan, who, being the son of Maham Anka,[164] held a higher position than

[162] *Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 328.*
[163] *Ib. p. 428.*
[164] *This name has been printed in Firishta, Badauni, and other works as "Atka," and the translator of Firishta has accordingly called "Maham Atka," the 'father' instead of 'mother' of Adham Khan. Firishta's*

all the other courtiers. In accord with his mother, he constantly showed his malice ; but Khan-khanan's wisdom and ability were so manifest, that Adham's ill-natured observations did not meet with the royal approval. But at length, on the 8th Jumada-s sani, 967 H., His Majesty crossed the river Jumna on a hunting expedition, and Khan-khanan remained behind at Agra in charge of the government. His Majesty reached the town of Sikandar, half way to Dehli. At this time Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan Naishapuri[165] held the government of Dehli, and Her Highness Mariam Makani, mother of the Emperor, was in that city. Maham Anka, who was related to Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan,[166] settled in her own mind that the best thing she could do was to incite the Emperor to proceed to Dehli, where, in collusion with Shahabu-d din Ahmad, she (Anka) might settle what was the best course to pursue. In furtherance of this plan, she represented to the Emperor that Her Highness Mariam Makani was in a weak ailing state, and had a great desire to see him. This statement distressed the Emperor, and he deter-

*explanation is useful. He says that "a nurse's husband and her male relations are called 'Atka' ; the wet-nurse herself, in Turki, is called Anka (or according to the pronunciation marked by the Calcutta Chaghatai Dictionary "anagah"); a foster brother is termed "Koka" (or, with the affix of unity, "Kokaltash," which Abu-l Fazl writes "Gokaltash"). Maham Anka was Akbar's wet-nurse, and, as Blochmann quotes, "she attended on him from the cradle till after his accession." In the 'Akbar-nama' her position and the influence she exercised are made very apparent. She was Akbar's nurse (see supra) and when he grew up she was the chief of his harem. She exercised great influence over him, and in the direction of public affairs. Her share in bringing about the fall of Bairam Khan appears in the text, and after that event she became, according to Abu-l Fazl, the governing spirit and real minister. It does not appear who was her husband, but she was related to Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan. Blochmann says of Adham Khan,, her son, that "the name of his father is unknown : he is evidently a royal bastard." There is a mystery about the paternity, but this statement seems inconsistent with the respectful terms used by Abu-l Fazl in speaking of the lady. Some passages relating to this remarkable woman will be found among the Extracts from the 'Akbar-nama.' See Briggs' Firishta, vol. ii., p. 211. Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari, vol. I., p. 323.*

165 *See Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 332.*

166 *This sentence is found only in the MS. of the East India Library.*

mined to go on to Dehli.[167] Shahabu-d din came out in state to meet His Majesty, and was graciously received.

Maham Anka, in agreement with Shahabu-d din, seized every oportunity of saying something to set the mind of the Emperor against Bairam Khan. Thus, she[168] insinuated that so long as Bairam Khan was in power, the Emperor would have no will of his own over the affairs of State,—that the whole power was in the Khan's hands, and His Majesty was under his control. At length she said that when Khan-khanan discovered that she had been the cause of the Emperor's proceeding to Dehli, he would have a grudge against her, and that she was quite unable to contend against his animosity. She therefore begged His Majesty to give her leave to proceed to Mecca, so that at the holy city she might offer up prayers for His Hajesty in absence, instead of serving him in presence. The assiduous attention of Maham Anka had won the regard of the Emperor, and he would not listen to the suggestion of separation from her. He said he would request Khan-khanan to overlook her offence, and he sent a message to the Khan to this effect : "As I have come all this way without consulting you, my attendants have fallen under your suspicion. Now you must make yourself quite at ease about them, so that you may continue to serve me with a tranquil mind." Shahabu-d din Ahmad was very vigilant and cautious in his proceedings. He began to strengthen the fortifications and took every precaution to get a control over State affairs : all the while exerting himself, in concert with Maham Anka, to set the attendants of the Emperor against the minister.

Khan-khanan, on receiving the Emperor's message, sent Khwaja Aminu-d din Mahmud Haji Muhammad Sistani and Tarsun Beg,[169] who held important offices to Dehli, to wait upon His Majesty, with this statement : "The devotion and loyalty of your servant would never allow him to do anything to any of the State against His Majesty's wishes ; for nought but kind-

[167] *"He reached Dehli on the 28th Jumada-l akhir."*

[168] *The verb throughout this passage is in the plural, but the context makes it clear that Maham Anka is the unexpressed nominative.*

[169] *See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., pp. 342, 374.*

ness and favour is due to all those who faithfully discharge their duties."

The royal ears had been filled with injurious stories and statements against Khan-khanan, so the Khan's message did not receive His Majesty's approval, and the messengers were sent back. When the report of His Majesty's displeasure with Khan-khanan became public, all men turned their backs upon him, and their faces towards the Emperor. Among the first who were admitted to royal favour was Kiya Khan Gang.[170] Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, with the assistance of Maham Anka, inspired every one who came to Court with the hope of receiving dignities and *jagirs* suitable to their condition.

Khan-khanan had long entertained a desire to go on pilgrimage to the holy places. He informed the *amirs* and *khans* who still held to him of the project he had formed, and then quitted the Imperial service. He sent along with these men Bahadur Khan, whom he had called from Malwa, and leaving Agra[171] he proceeded towards Nagor on his pilgrimage to the holy places. When he arrived at Bayana, he set at liberty Muhammad Amin Diwana, who was there confined, and sent him to Court. As soon as intelligence of Khan-khanan's departure from Agra arrived, Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan and Maham Anka represented to His Majesty that he had left Agra with the intention of attacking the Punjab. His Majesty then sent Mir 'Abdu-l Latif to the Khan-khanan with this message: "As I was fully assured of your honesty and fidelity, I left all important affairs of State in your charge, and thought only of my own pleasure. I have now determined to take the reins of government into my own hands, and it is desirable that you should now make the pilgrimage to Mecca, upon which you have been so long intent. A suitable *jagir* out of the *parganas* of Hindustan shall be

170 *Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 343.*

171 *He left Agra for Nagor on the 12th Rajab, and on reaching Bayana he liberated Shah Abu-l Ma'ali, and Muhammad Amin Diwana, directing them to proceed to the Emperor. But, says Abu-l Fazl, his object in setting free such turbulent persons was only to foment disturbances.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii. p. 126.*

assigned for your maintenance, the revenues of which shall be transmitted to you by your agents."

When Mir 'Abdu-l Latif communicated this message to Khan-khanan, he listened attentively, and having parted from the Mir, he left Mewat on his way to Nagor. Of all his followers there now remained with him only Wali Beg Zu-l Kadar, his sons Husain Kuli Beg and Ismail Kuli Beg, who were relations of his, Shah Kuli Mahrim, Husain Khan his sister's son, and his son-in-law Mahdi Kasim Khan. Upon reaching Nagor, he sent banner, kettle-drums, and all other marks of nobility to the Emperor by the hands of Husain Kuli Beg. The Emperor had left Dehli, and was proceeding towards the Panjab.[172] He had reached the *pargana* of Jhajhar when Husain Kuli Beg waited upon him. Among the persons present (with the Beg) was Shah Abu-l Ma'ali, who, being mounted on horse-back, endeavoured to overtake His Majesty. This greatly offended the Emperor, who ordered the culprit into confinement, and placed him in the custody of Shahabu-d din Ahmad. The surrender of the banner and the other insignia of nobility gratified the Emperor.

Pir Muhammad Khan Shirwani, whom the Khan-khanan had banished from the country and sent to Mecca, had waited in Gujarat for the proper season (of sailing). On hearing of the disgrace of the Khan-khanan, he returned to Court with all possible speed. He met with a very gracious reception, and was honoured with the title, "Nasiru-l Mulk", as well as with a banner and kettle-drums. He was then sent with a force to hasten Khan-khanan's departure for Mecca, and accordingly marched after him. After this His Majesty returned to Dehli, and a *farman* was issued, summoning Mun'im Khan from Kabul.

As Mal Deo Raja of Joudhpur held a strong and threatening position in the way to Gujarat, with the intention of attacking Bairam Khan, the Khan delayed his movements, and eventually marched from Nagor towards Bikanir. Rai Kalyan Mal and his son Rai Sing,[173] who were the zamindars of that country, received him with great kindness, and treated him most hospitably. After

[172] *"Nagor."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 126.*

[173] *They belonged to the Rathors of Bikanir, and will frequently*

staying there a few days, and resting from the fatigues of the journey, he learnt that Pir Muhammad Khan had been sent to pursue him, and this greatly annoyed and distressed him. Some evil-minded persons, having found their opportunity, played upon the feeling of the Khan-khanan, and inciting him to rebellious acts, he went towards the Panjab.

When he arrived at the fort of Tabarhindh ( Sirhind ), which was the *jagir* of Sher Muhammad Diwana, one of his old servants,[174] to whom he had shown great kindness, in full confidence of his faithfulness, Khan-khanan, left there his son Mirza Khan ( 'Abdu-r Rahim ), who was then in the third year of his age, but who is at the present day exalted to the dignity of Khan-khanan and *sipah-salar* ( commander-in-chief ). He also left his females and property, and proceeded on his course. Sher Muhammad thereupon appropriated all the property, and treated the dependents of the Khan-khanan with great indignity. The Khan-khanan was in the *pargana* of Dipalpur when he was informed of these proceedings. He sent his *diwan* Khwaja Muzaffar 'Ali ( who afterwards became Muzaffar Khan[175] ) along with Darwesh Muhammad Uzbek to exposulate and intercede with Sher Muhammad but the latter seized Muzaffar 'Ali, and sent him prisoner to the Emperor. Sorely troubled by these acts, the Khan went on to Jalandhar.

On the Emperor being informed of Khan-khanan's advance towards the Panjab, he despatched Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan Atka,[176] his son Yusuf Khan,[177] Husain Khan a relation of Shhahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, and a body of nobles to the Panjab. When the royal forces reached the town of Dagdar,[178] and proceeded from thence to the *pargana* of Kona,[179]

*appear in the following pages. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p. 357.*

174 *Badauni ( vol. ii., p. 40 ) calls him the adopted son ( pisar-i khwandah ) of Khan-khanan.*

175 *Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., p. 348.*

176 *Ibid, vol. ii., p. 321.*

177 *Ib. p. 323.*

178 *"In the vicinity of Jalandhar, between the Satlej and Biyah."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 140.*

179 *Badauni ( p. 40 ) calls it "Kanur." Abu-l Fazl, "Konajur". Faizi says "Konachur", one of the villages of 'pargana' Rahun.*

they hemmed in Khan-khanan, so that he was obliged to fight. Compelled to action, he drew up his forces, and confronted the royal army. A sharp action ensued, with considerable loss to both sides,[180] and Khan-khanan, being defeated, fled towards the Siwalik hills. Wali Beg Zu-l Kadar and his son Ism'il Kuli Beg (who now holds a position among the great nobles), Ahmad Beg, Ya'kub Beg Hamadani, and all his brothers, were taken prisoners, and great booty fell into the hands of the royal troops. This victory was gained in the fifth year of the Ilahi, agreeing with 967 A.H.

After Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan Atka had marched for the Panjab, the Emperor left Khwaja 'Abdu-l Majid Harawi (who had been admitted to the position of a minister) (*silk-i wuzara*), and had been honoured with the title of Asaf Khan[181] in charge of Dehli, and on the 2nd Zi-l ka'da, 967, himself marched to Panjab. He placed Husain Kuli Beg, son of Wali Zu-l Kadar, by way of precaution, in custody of Asaf Khan, with directions to treat him generously, and do him no harm. When the Emperor reached Jalandhar, Mun'im Khan, who had been summoned from Kabul, arrived,[182] and was accompanied by Mukim Khan, sister's son of Tardi Beg Khan, and several other *amirs*. Mun'im Khan was raised to the dignity of minister (*wakalat*), and received the title of Khan-khhanan, and the nobles in his company received favours and honours suitable to their respective positions.

At this place Akbar received the intelligence of the victory gained by Shamsu-d din Muhammad Khan. Those who had been taken prisoners in that engagement were brought into the

[180] *According to Abu-l Fazl and Fazii, the Imperial forces were at first repulsed and the victory was gained only by the great gallantry and desparate exertions of the Imperial generals.*

[181] *Asaf was the 'wazir' of Sulaiman, and proverbial for his wisdom. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., pp. 366, 368.*

[182] *"On the 15th Zi-l ka'da."—'Abkar-nama', vol. ii., p. 143. Mukim Khan afterwards became Shuja'at Khan. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari'. vol. i., p. 371. Badauni says the meeting was at Ludhiyana.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 43.*

royal presence captive and forlorn, and were committed to safe custody. One of the number, Wali Beg, who had received a severe wound, died in prison. So his head was cut off and sent to Dehli. The Emperor then marched onwards toward the Siwalik hills,[183] in pursuit of the Khan-khanan. He reached the neighbourhood of Talwara, a district in the Siwalik, belonging to Raja Gobind[184] Chand, where the Khan-khanon had sought refuge. A party of adventurous soldiers dashed forward into the hills, and surrounding the place put many of the defenders to the sword. Sultan Husain Jalair was killed in the action. When they brought his head into the presence of the Khan-khanan, in a burst of feeling he exclaimed, "This life of mine is not worth so much that a man like this should be killed in my defence." Depressed and anxious, the Khan insantly sent one of his followers, Jamal Khan, to the Emperor with this message : "I deeply repent my deeds, which have not been entirely under my own control ; but if I am favoured with the royal clemency, I will throw the veil of oblivion over my misdeeds, and will present myself in your presence, and hope for your forgiveness."

When this message was brought to the ears of the Emperor the recollection of old services rose up in his memory, and he gave orders that Maulana 'Abdu-lla Sultanpuri, who had received the title of Makhdumu-l Mulk, should proceed, with several other attendants of the Court, to Khan-khanan, and having assured him of the Emperor's kindly feeling, should bring him to his presence.[185] When the Khan-khanan approached the royal camp, all the *amirs* and *khans* went out, by the Emperor's order, to meet him, and conducted him to the Emperor with every mark

[183] *He first went to Lahore, which he reached on the 26th Zi-l hijja.—Akkar-nama, vol. ii., p. 145.*

[184] *Abu-l Fazl says : "Raja Gane§ of Talwara, a strong place in the midst of the Siwalik hills ;" and, according to him, the royal forces had a good deal of fighting with the hill people.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 146.*

[185] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 44) says it was Mun'im Khan who conducted him to the Emperor, and that he placed all his tents and attendants at the fallen minister's disposal.*

of honour. On his coming into the royal presence, the Khan placed his sad countenance upon the ground of supplication, and craved forgiveness for his offences. The Emperor received him with the most princely grace, and presented him with a splendid robe of honour. Two days afterwards he gave him permission to depart on a pilgrimage to Mecca[186] and the holy places. The royal camp then moved on its return to Dehli, and the Emperor went towards Hisar-Firozah hunting.

Khan-khanan, with his people, took the road to Gujarat. He reached the city of Pattan, in Gujarat, and there rested for some days. This city was then under the government of Musa Khan Lodi Puladi. Khan-khanan went about examining the city, and one day he went out to the Kolabi (lake), a place within sight of the city, and famous for Sahasnak.[187] They call it in the Hindi language *Nara.* A temple Ranamand, like a thousand temples, stood there, and gave it celebrity. After visiting this place, he went about (the lake) in a boat. When he disembarked and returned home, an Afghan, named Mubarak Khan Lohani, whose father had been killed in an action with the Mughals,[188] came to wait upon the Khan-khanan, with the intention of wreaking vengeance upon him. When they were shaking hands, he assassinated him with his dagger.[189] The words "Muhammad Bairam," contain the date of this murder. Some scoundrels then plundered the encampment of the deceased. Muhammad Amin Diwana and Baba Zambur, with several of the eunuchs, rescued from the fray Mirza 'Abdu-r Rahim, the son of the Khan-khanan,[190] who was then a child of only four

[186] *According to Badauni (vol. II., p. 44) the Emperor furnished him with money, and the nobles, great and small, and the courtiers, lent their assistance, "and made up the supply of money and goods which the Turks call 'Chandogh.'"*

[187] *"Sahnas Lang."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 45.*

[188] *He had been put to death by order of the Khan-khanan.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 45.*

[189] *He had thirty or forty companions. He stabbed the Khan with his dagger in the back, so that the point came out of his bosom, and one of the assassin's companions finished the business with his sword.—T. Alfi. and Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 165.*

[190] *His mother and the attendants were also rescued by the courage of Muhammad Amin and his followers.—T. Alfi.*

years of age, but in these days has been exalted to the dignity of Khan-khanan. They conducted the boy to Ahmadabad, and from thence they carried him to the Court of the Emperor, in the hope of obtaining his protection. The Emperor received the child with the most princely favour, and the good qualities which he exhibited so won upon the Emperor's mind, that his prosperity went on growing until he attained the dignity of Khan-khanan.

When the Khan-khanan ( Bairam Khan ) went to Gujarat, the Emperor proceeded towards Hisar-Firozah on a hunting excursion, but the army was sent on to Dehli, the capital, by the direct route. Having hunted with some leashes of a kind of leopard, which is called *chita* in Hindi, on the 4th Rabi'u-l awwal, 968 H. ( 9th Nov., 1560 ), he arrived at Dehli, and there stopped awhile for a little rest and enjoyment. On the 2nd Rabi's-s sani he started for Agra by boat, and arrived there on the 12th of the same month.

## SIXTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year was Sunday, 24th Jumada-l akhir, 968 H. ( 10th March, 1561 ). In this year the marriage of Muhammad Baki Khan was celebrated with a lady whose family connexions have been explained in another place. The ceremony was performed with great magnificence, and was followed by rejoicings and feasting for several days.

In the days of Sher Khan the country of Malwa had been held by Shuja'at Khan,[191] who was one of his own clan ( *Khassa khail* ), and after his death it had come into the hands of his son Baz Bahadur. It now came to His Majesty's knowledge that Baz Bahadur had given himself up to sensuality,[192] and cared nothing for the country. Tyrannical and overbearing men had consequently oppressed the poor and helpless, and the peasantry and people had been reduced to distress. The honour

[191] *He was, as before stated, commonly called "Shujawat Khan," but Badauni ( vol. ii., p. 47 ) goes a little wider, and calls him "Sazawal Khan".*

[192] *Abu-l Fazl calls him also drunkard.*

of the Imperial throne required that this country should be again brought under its control, and find peace and security. So Adham Khan, Pir Muhammad Khan, Sadik Khan, Kiya Khan Gang. 'Abdulla Khan Uzbek, Shah Muhammad Kandahari, and some other *amirs,* were nominated to effect the conquest of that country.[193] They accordingly marched thither, and when they came within ten *kos* of Sarangpur in that country, Baz Bahadur, who was in that city, awoke from his slumber of neglect, and took up a position, which he fortified, two *kos* from the city.

Baz Bahadur was the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindi song. He spent much of his time in the society of singers and musicians. When the Imperial army was at ten *kos* from Sarangpur, Adham Khan sent forward an advanced force to the entrenchments which Baz Bahadur had thrown up around his army. Several attempts were made to entice him out of his lines, and the royal forces drew together in order to surround him. Baz Bahadur then threw off his apathy, and marched out to give battle. But the Afghan nobles in his army were disaffected, and made their escape, and he himself was obliged to take flight.[194] Rup-mati, his favourite wife, who used to recite poetry, several other wives, and all his treasures fell into the hands of the Imperial forces. As the fugitives were making off, a eunuch of Baz Bahadur's wounded Rup-mati with a sword, to prevent her falling into the hands of strangers; and when Adham Khan summoned her to his presence, she took poison and killed herself.

Adham Khan wrote an account of the victory to the Emperor. He retained all the ladies and musicians and singers, but he sent some elephants under charge of Sadik Khan, to Court. This retention of the ladies and other spoils displeased the Emperor, and made him deem it necessary to proceed in person to Malwa. On the 21st Sha'ban, 968 H. the Emperor left Agra, and marched towards Malwa. When he reached the fort of

[193] *"With five or six thousand men."—Faizi.*
[194] *"Towards Khandesh and Burhanpur."—Faizi.*

Gagrun, which is celebrated among the fortresses of Malwa for its strength and height, he gave orders for its reduction. But the commandant of the fort hastened to surrender, and presented his tribute. This greatly pleased the Emperor, who made a forced march in the night, and arrived by dawn in the vicinity of Sarangpur.[195] 'Adham Khan had left Sarangpur in order to besiege Gagrun, so he met the Emperor at three *kos* distance from that place,[196] and was graciously received. Then they rode on to the city, and Adham Khan's abode was given up to His Majesty.. Adham Khan now collected all his spoils, and presented them to the Emperor, who stayed a few days to refresh and enjoy himself, and then returned to Agra.

At that place Pir Muhammad Khan Shirwani and other nobles who had *jagirs* in Malwa, waited upon the Emperor. They were honoured with gifts of robes and horses and were then sent back to their *jagirs*. When the Emperor was near Narwar, a formidable tiger came out of the jungle. The Emperor slowly approached the beast, and with one blow of sword brought her to the ground. Some of his attendants killed the young ones with swords and spears.

Muhammad Asghar, *Mir-munshi*, who was celebrated for the beauty of his writing and composition, was now appointed *Mir-munshi*, and received the title of Ashraf Khan. On the 29th Ramazan, 968, the Court reached Agra.

When 'Adali, the Afghan, was slain by the sons of Muhammad Khan Bangali,* who was one of the nobles of Salim Khan Afghan, 'Adali's son, Sher Khan, took his seat upon the throne of Government, in the fort of Chunar, and then led an army to attempt the conquest of Jaunpur. Thereupon Khan-zaman

[195] *The journey was performed in sixteen days.—Faizi.*

[196] *"As he knew nothing of the Emperor's approach, he was astounded, and wondered what was the reason."—T. Alfi. Abu-l Fazl also describes the amazement of Adham Khan at the sudden appearance of the Emperor, who had marched so fast that he outstripped the messengers sent by Maham Anka to warn Adham Khan. He also describes how Adham Khan surrendered his spoils, and how reluctantly he at last gave up the women and the singing and dancing girls of Baz Bahadur.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 178.*

**See Ahmad Yadgar—Tarikh-i Salatin-i Afaghana.*

sent information to the Imperial Court and the *amirs* who held *jagirs* in that part of the country were commanded to support Khan-zaman. Ibrahim Khan Uzbek, Majnun Khan Kakshal, Shaham Khan Jalair, Kamal Khan Gakhar, and many other chiefs, in obedience to the royal order, joined Kuli Khan (Khan-zaman).[197] The Afghans having crossed the river, gave battle, but Khan-zaman exerted himself gallantly, and put them to flight.

Various actions of Khan-zaman excited a suspicion of his intention to rebel, so towards the close of the year His Majesty proceeded towards Jaunpur, on a progress of hunting and pleasure. On approaching Kalpi, the camp was about to be pitched, when 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek, who held Kalpi in *jagir* came forward, and begged His Majesty to honour his house by taking up his quarters there. The proposal was graciously accepted, and 'Abdu-lla Khan rendered the services due from him and presented his offerings, for which he was honoured by His Majesty's approbation.

When the Court reached Karra, 'Ali Kuli Khan Khan-zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan came up by forced marches from their *jagir* of Jaunpur, and on being received, they presented suitable offerings. Their fidelity and services being recognized they received presents of horses and robes, and were then dismissed to their *jagirs*. On the 17th Zi-l hijja, of the sixth year of the Ilahi, corresponding with 968 H. the Court reached Agra.

Shamsu-d din Muhammad Atka,[198] who bore the title of

[197] *The force of the enemy was nearly 20,000 horse, 50,000 foot, and 500 elephants. Khan-zaman declined to meet them in the open. When the enemy crossed the river, he bore all before him, but his force was eventually cut up in the streets and suburbs of Jaunpur.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 185.*

[198] *Shamsu-d din Muhammad was a native of Ghazni, and began life as a common soldier under Prince Kamran. It was he who assisted the Emperor Humayun out of the river after the disastrous battle of Kanauj (supra). He accompanied the Emperor in his exile, and his wife was one of the nurses (anka) of Akbar. As foster father (atka) of Akbar, he received the title of Atka Khan, and his sons were the 'kokas' or 'kokaltashes' of the Emperor. His family is sometimes called the Atkakhail.—Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p. 321.*

*Khan-i 'azam*, and held the government of the Panjab, now came to Court. He was graciously received, and the direction of the affairs of the State was committed to his charge.[199] About the same time, Adham Khan, in obedience to a royal command, came from Malwa to the capital, and was welcomed with due honour.

On the 8th Jumada-l awwal, 969 H. the Emperor started to pay a visit to the tomb of Kutbu-l auliya Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti.[200] When he reached the town of Sambar, Raja Bihari Mal[201] one of the chief *rajas* of that country, came with great loyalty and respect, along with his son Bhagwan Das[202] to pay his services to His Majesty. He was received with great honour and attention, and his daughter, an honourable lady, was accepted by His Majesty, and took her place among the ladies of the Court. From thence he proceeded to Ajmir, and he dispensed many gifts and pensions among the inhabitants of that noble city. Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain, who held a *jagir* in the territory of Ajmir, came to pay his homage. He was sent with several other *omirs* of that province to effect the conquest of the fort of Mirtha[203] about twenty *kos* from Ajmir,

199 *"This appointment greatly annoyed Maham Anka, who, from her superior intelligence and many services, had deemed herself permanent minister (wakil i saltanat baistiklal). Munim Khan, who had been the ostensible minister, was also aggrieved."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 189.*

200 *He was a native of Sistan, and is called also Sijizi.—'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 195.*

201 *Bihari Mal was a Kachhwahah, and was the first Rajput Chief who joined Akbar. He is often called, as in our MS., Bihara Mal. He and his family played distinguished parts in the reign of Akbar, and intermarried with the Imperial family. His four brothers were named Puran, Rupsi, Askaran, and Jag Mal. He had three sons in Akbar's service. Bhagwan Das, Jagannath, and Salhadi; the first of whom was a most distinguished officer, and on one occasion saved the Emperor's life. He is also called Bhagwan and Bhagwant Das. The son of the latter, named Man Sing, was no less distinguished and attained the highest rank.—See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., pp. 328, 333, 339.*

202 *The MSS. have "Gobind Das", but Badauni (vol. ii., p. 50) is right in calling him "Bhagwan Das."*

203 *Mirtha, or Mairtha, forty miles west by north from Ajmir.*

which was held by Jai Mal.[204] His Majesty then started for Agra, and making forced marches, he performed the distance, one hundred and twenty *kos*, in a day and night.[205]

## SEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Tuesday, 7th Rajab, 969 H. (10th March, 1562). At the beginning of this year Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain besieged the fort of Mirtha, being assisted by Shah Bidagh Khan,[206] and his son 'Abdu-l Matlab Khan, Muhammad Husain Shaikh, and some other nobles. Great exertions were made on both sides but at length it was agreed that the garrison should march out with their horses and arms (*kamchi*), but leave behind all their property and effects. When the victorious army went to take possession of the fort, Jail Mal marched out with his men. But Deo-das, in shame and pride, set fire to the property which was in the fortress and then sallied forth at the head of a party of Rajputs, and passed in front of the royal army. Mirza Sharafu-d din and other nobles followed Deo-das, and when they came up with him, he turned round and attacked them. Many of the royal soldiers fell, and nearly 200 Rajputs were slain. Deo-das himself was unhorsed, and being overtaken as he lay upon the ground, he was cut to pieces.[207] The fort of Mirtha was then occupied by the Imperial forces.

About this time Pir Muhammad Khan,[208] who, after the departure of Adham Khan, held the government of Malwa, assembled the forces of that province, and marched to subdue

[204] *Jai Mal was the commandant on behalf of Rai Mal Deo.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 204.*

[205] *'Dar Shaban-roz'. The "T. Alfi" gives the more probable time of "three days," and Abu-l Fazl says "less than three days."*

[206] *See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., p. 371.*

[207] *"Some say he was wounded, but escaped, and after some years re-appeared in the guise of a 'jogi'. Some recognized, others repudiated, him. At length he was killed in one of their quarrels."—Tarikh-i Alfi.*

[208] *"Whose boldness and courage were greater than his judgment."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 211.*

the countries of Asir and Burhanpur. He laid siege to Bijagarh, the principal of all the fortresses of that country, which he took by storm, and put all the garrison to the sword.[209] He then marched against Asir, a well-known place in Khandesh. Crossing the river Nerbadda, he gave many of the towns and villages to the sword and destruction, and come to Burhanpur. That city also he took by storm, and gave orders for a general massacre. Many of the learned men and *saiyids* of the place he caused to be decapitated in his presence. The governors of Asir and Burhanpur, and Baz Bahadur, who lived in this vicinity since his flight from Malwa, now concerted together, and, assisted by all the zamindars of the country, they assembled a force with which they assailed Pir Muhammad Khan.[210] Unable to resist, Pir Muhammad fled towards Mandu, and when he came to the Nerbadda, he, and all the nobles with him, plunged into its waters. It so happened that a camel came up and bit the horse upon which he was riding. He was thrown off into the water and drowned, thus receiving the recompense of his deeds.[211] The other nobles, on reaching Malwa, found that the country was lost, so they pursued their course to the Court of the Emperor. Baz Bahadur pursued them, and brought the whole of Malwa once more into his power. The *amirs* who had abandoned Malwa and had come to Court without orders, were imprisoned for a time, and then set at liberty.

'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek now received orders to retrieve this disaster in Malwa, and Mu'inu-d din Ahmed Khan Farankhudi, and several other Khans, were directed to assist him. Towards the end of the year 969 H. (1562 A.D.), 'Abdu-lla and his auxiliaries entered Malwa, and Baz Bahadur, being unable to

[209] *"He next proceeded against Sultanpur, and annexed it to the Imperial territories."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 212.*

[210] *As his men "were pursuing their straggling march homewards, laden with spoil, Pir Muhammad made an attempt to beat off the pursuers but he was ill supported."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 213.*

[211] *Badauni (vol. ii., p. 51) is eloquent upon the subject: "By way of water he went to fire; and the sighs of orphans, poor wretches, and captives settled his business."*

withstand him, took to flight.[212] A force was sent in pursuit, and coming up with the fugitives, killed many of them. Baz Bahadur found protection for some time with Rana Udi Sing,[213] one of the chief *rajas* of Marwar, and afterwards he repaired to Gujarat, but eventually he threw himself upon the mercy of the Emperor, and sought a refuge from the frowns of fortune.[214] 'Abdu-lla Khan remained at Mandu, and the other *amirs* returned to their *jagirs*. Mu'in Khan, after setting the affairs of the country in order, returned to Court.

An intimacy and friendship had existed between the late Emperor Humayun and Shah Tahmasp Sufi of Persia. When Humayun died, and was succeeded by Akbar, the Shah was desirous of keeping up friendly relations. He accordingly sent his nephew, Saiyid Beg, son of Ma'sum Beg, to whom he gave the title Ummu-ughli (uncle's son), as his ambassador, with costly presents. When Saiyid Beg approached Agra, many khans and great men were sent forth to meet him, and to bring him into the city with suitable honours. The sum of seven *lacs* of *tankas* was appropriated to him. He remained at Agra two months, and having received a horse and a robe, he took his departure carrying with him presents from Hindustan.

## EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Wednesday, 18th Rajab, 970 H. (13 March, 1563 A.D.). A tragical event occurred in the course of this year.[215] Adham Khan Kokaltash, son of Maham Anka,[216] could not endure to see the elevation

[212] *"To the hills of Kambalmir."—T. Alfi.*

[213] *"At Chitor and Udipur."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 51.*

[214] *He was imprisoned for some time, but (soon after his release) he died.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 51. Faizi says he was granted a 'mansab' of 2,000. See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari', vol. i., p. 428.*

[215] *Abu-l Fazl and most other writers place this event one year earlier.*

[216] *He was her younger son. His brother was Muhammad Baki Khan. See 'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 218. Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., pp. 323 and 381.*

of his compeers.[217] In the presumption of youth, and pride of wealth and station, he yielded to the incentives of Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, Mu'nim Khan Khan-khanan, and several other nobles, and murdered Khan-i 'azam (Shamsu-d din Muhammad Atka), then Prime Minister, as he was sitting in his public office. Then trusting to the favour and kindness which had been shown to him by the Emperor, he went and stood at the door of the harem. His Majesty rushed out of the harem, sword in hand, and the assassin was bound hand and foot, and cast over the parapet in punishment of his crime.[218] This murder was committed on the morning of Sunday, 12th Ramazan, 970 H. All those who had taken part in the conspiracy fled, and hid themselves through fear of punishment. Mu'nim Khan and Muhammad Kasim Khan *Mir-i bahr* (commander of the boats) went over the Jumna, and destroyed the bridge by which they crossed. Shababu-d din Ahmad Khan Naishapuri concealed himself. His Majesty showed great solicitude for the sons of the deceased minister, and for Maham Anka; but the latter, in anger and in grief for her son, fell ill and died forty days afterwards.

Next day (after the murder) Ashraf Khan *Mir-munshi* received orders to seek out and bring back to His Majesty Mun'im Khan, Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, and Kasim Khan. The thought of having participated in this plot weighed upon the mind of Mu'nim Khan, so although he held the title of Khan-khanan, and held the offices of minister (*wakalat*) and tutor (*atalik*), he having found an opportunity left Agra by night, and went off along with Kasim Khan, commander of the boats,

[217] *The "T. Alfi" represents him as gratified with the death of Bairam Khan, who had always been suspicious and watchful of him.*

[218] *Badauni places this assassination in 969 H. He says the unfortunate minister was cut to pieces (para para), and he adds that as a spark of life was left in the assassin after his fall, the Emperor ordered him to be thrown over the parapet again. He was buried one day before his victim. Firishta's account agrees; but the translation is inaccurate in two points. It calls the minister Shahabu-d din instead of Shamsu-d din, and makes Maham Anka father of the minister instead of mother of the assassin. See Extract from 'Akbar-nama,' infra.*

towards Kabul, where his son 'Abdu-l Ghani Khan was then living. When they came to the *pargana* of Sarut, in the Doab, the *jagir* of Mir Mahmud *Munshi*, one of the *Munshi's* officers, Kasim Ali Sistani, who was *shikkdar* of the district, having heard of their arrival as fugitives from the Court, went out with a party of the inhabitants, and made them prisoners. They were then sent to His Majesty, who winked at their offence, and reinstated them in their offices.

## CONQUEST OF THE GAKHAR COUNTRY

The country of the Gakhars lies upon the banks of the river Sind, well known as the *Nil-ab*. This territory, from the Siwalik hills to the borders of Kashmir, has been from all times the possession of the Gakhars, although other tribes, such as the Khattri (Khattar), Januha, Jatriya, Bhugiyal, and Chibh[219] dwell in those parts in subordination to the Gakhars. From the beginning of the reign of the late Emperor Babar to the present time, this tribe would not suffer any intermission of loyalty to the illustrious dynasty, but remained steadfast in their obedience and devotion. Sarang Sultan was especially noted for his fidelity and loyalty. When Sher Khan acquired the supreme power in Hindustan, he wanted to bring the Gakhars under his authority, and used strenuous exertions to effect his purpose, but made little progress, until he succeeded, after much trouble, in getting Sarang Sultan into his hands as a prisoner. He ordered Sarang Sultan to be flayed, and shut up his son Kamal Khan in the fort of Gwalior. After the death of Sarang, his brother Adam became the chief of the clan. He also espoused the cause of the Imperial family, and opposed the Afghans.

When Sher Khan died, and his son Salim Khan obtained the supreme authority, he also, in imitation of his father, plundered and laid waste various portions of the Gakhar territory, and did his utmost to vex and injure them. On one occasion, when some prisoners were brought to Gwalior for

[219] *See Blochmann's Ain-i-Akbari, pp. 456, 487.*

punishment, he ordered them to be placed in a house with a quantity of gun-powder, and the house to be set on fire. Common report tells how all these captives were blown into the air, and how their bodies were blown to pieces. Kamal Khan, who was sitting in a corner of the house, was by God's mercy saved. When Salim Khan heard of his preservation he sent for him, and having induced him to take an oath of fidelity, appointed him to act, in concert with the governor of the Panjab, in the subjugation of the Gakhar territory.

Afterwards, when Hindustan again came under the rule of the Imperial house, Kamal Khan followed the example of his predecessors, and paid his allegiance. He was treated with princely favour, and received a grant of the *parganas* of Hanswa, Fathpur, and Karra Manikpur as a *jagir*. There he remained until Sher Khan, the son of Salim Khan, attacked 'Ali Kuli Khan, and endeavoured to get possession of these districts. Kamal Khan was then ordered to support 'Ali Kuli Khan, and he exhibited such courage and resolution that he was graciously told that whatever request he liked to make should be granted. Kamal Khan in his love for his native land, begged that he might be restored to his parental inheritance. A *farman* was accordingly issued that of the territories formerly held by Sultan Sarang, and now in the possession of Adam Khan Gakhar, one half should be given to Kamal Khan, and the other half should remain in the possession of Adam Khan. Orders were accordingly issued to the *amirs* of the Panjab, to Mir Muhammad Khan, known as *Khan-i Kalan*,[220] and to Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan, that if Adam Khan made any resistance to the arrangement, they were to take the whole of the territory from him, and give it to Kamal Khan.

When the *amirs* informed Adam Khan of the purport of the *farmans*, he and his son and his army were dissatified, and paid no heed to the command. A royal army marched into the

[220] *He was the elder brother of Atka Khan, 'Khan-i'azam'. Kutbu-d din was a younger brother. They belonged to the 'Atka-khail.' See note, supra. Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' pp. 322 and 333.*

country of the Gakhars to subdue it, and Adam Khan and his son resisted. Some sharp fighting followed, but the Gakhars were defeated, and Adam Khan was made prisoner. His son, with the defeated army, fled into Kashmir, but after some time he also was taken prisoner.[221] All the Gakhar territory then came under the power of the Imperial officers, and they made it over to Kamal Khan. The *amirs* also placed Adam Khan and his son in charge of Kamal Khan, and departed to their own *jagirs*. Kamal Khan kept Adam Khan near him until he died.

### *Affairs of Mu'nim Beg (At Kabul)*

When Mu'nim Khan left Kabul to visit the Court of the Emperor, Muhammad Khan *Akhta-begi* was left there as governor, but on Mu'nim Khan being informed of his ill-treatment of the people of Kabul, he removed him from office, and appointed his own son, Ghani Khan, in his place. He also sent back his nephew Abu-l Fath Beg, son of his brother Fazail Beg, to assist Ghani Khan in his government. After a time Mah Chochak Begam and the people of Kabul were greatly distressed by the proceedings of Ghani Khan.[222] Among other acts he kept in confinement Tolak Khan Kuchin, one of the oldest servants of the dynasty, until the people interfered and set him at liberty. Tolak Khan then went to the village of Mama-khatun, which was his *jagir*, and there waited his opportunity. It happened that a caravan from Balkh came and halted in the village of Charikaran, and Ghani Khan went forth in haste to meet it. Tolak Khan assembled a body of his servants and adherents, and making a rapid night march fell upon Ghani Khan,[223] and made him prisoner. At length some persons intervened, and obtained

[221] *Both father and son were placed in the custody of Kamal Khan. The father was kept in confinement till his death; the son was put to death.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., (The episode about the Gakhars seems to have been omitted from the printed edition of the Akbar-nama).*

[222] *"He was wanting in sense and suavity."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 231.*

[223] *While he was drunk and asleep.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 233.*

the freedom of Ghani Khan. They took from him a treaty and covenant that he would never again molest Tolak Khan, but before Ghani Khan got back to Kabul, he broke his covenant, and marched against Tolak Khan with a strong force. Tolak Khan, however, was apprised of the movement, and fled to the Court of the Emperor. Ghani Khan pursued him in vain for some distance, and then returned to Kabul.

Some little while afterwards Ghani Beg went out one day for a stroll in the melon gardens, and the opportunity was seized by (Mah Chochak Begam) the mother of Mirza Muhammad Hakim,[224] in concert with Shah Wali Atka, Mirza Fazail Beg and his son Abu-l Fath Beg, to enter the fort and close the gates against Ghani Khan. On returning and finding the gates of the fortress closed, Ghani Khan understood that the people had revolted against him. Unable to do anything, he went off to the Imperial Court. The mother of the prince then took the direction of affairs into her own hands. She appointed Mirza Fazail[225] Beg, whom Mirza Kamran had blinded, to the office of minister (*wakalat*) and his son Abu-l Fath Beg was made his deputy. But when in the distribution of the *jagirs* and villages he (Abu-l Fath) reserved the best for himself, and appropriated the worst to the prince and his attendants, Shah Wali Atka, Ali Muhammad Asp, and others, could not brook his unjust allotment. In communication with the mother of the prince, they determined to remove him. One night Abu-l Fath came to the door of his house in a state of intoxication and went down. Miran Beg having seen this, despatched him with one blow upon the head with his sword. His father, Fazail Beg, endeavoured to escape into the Hazara, but some of the adherents of the prince went in pursuit, and overtook and beheaded him. Shah Wali Beg Atka, with the approval of the mother of the prince, assumed

[224] *Son of the Emperor Humayun, then about ten years of age.—Badauni.*

[225] *Abu-l Fazl calls him "Fazil Beg," and says that although he was blind "in matters of craft and contumacy, his whole body was eyes." He adds that he interfered with his nephew in his duties as governor.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 231.*

the management of affairs, and gave himself the title of 'Adil Shah.

When the report of these occurrences reached the ears of the Emperor, he appointed Mu'nim Khan governor of Kabul and guardian (*atalik*) of the young prince Mirza Muhammad. He also appointed Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas, Husain Khan, brother of Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, Timur Beg Uzbek, and several other nobles to assist and support him. The mother of the young prince, who was then ten years of age, assembled all the forces she could, and taking the prince with her, she went with the intention of resisting by force of arms, to Jalalabad, known in old times by the name of Jusai. There she awaited Mu'nim Khan, who quickly marched against her, and defeated and scattered her forces at the first attack. After this he returned to Court. The Begam returned to Kabul, and suspecting the designs of Shah 'Ali Atka against her, she caused him to be put to death, and Haidar Kasim Kohbar was named *wakil* of the *mirza* in his stead.

### *Affairs of Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain*

Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain was son of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din, son of Kwaja Jawid Mahmud, son of Khwaja 'Abdu-lla, who was a distinguished man among the *Khwajas*, and was the son of Nasiru-d din 'Abdu-lla Ahrar.[226] When the Mirza came to Court, he was promoted to the dignity of *Amiru-l umara*, and received the *jagir* of Nagor. There he was distinguished by his energtic labours. His father now returned from Mecca, and received a right royal reception. After a while Mirza Sharaf, by the will of fate, and without any apparent reason or cause, having had his mind perverted by designing men, fled towards Nagor.[227] Hazrat Husain Kuli Beg, son of Wali Beg Zu-l kadar, a relation of the late Khan-khanan Bairam Khan, having on account of his services been admitted to the order of nobility, and dignified

[226] *See Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 322.*
[227] *"Towards Ajmir and Nagor, which were his jagirs."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 247.*

with the title of *khan,* now received a grant of *jagir* of Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain. Some of the principal nobles, as Muhammad Sadik, Muhammad Kuli *Tugh-bani,* Muzaffar Mughal and Mirak Bahadur, were driected to support Husain Kuli Beg, and the command was given for them to pursue and capture Mirza Sharafu-d din. If he repented of his unrighteous deeds, they were to soothe him and bring him to Court ; but if not, they were to use their best exertions to punish his misconduct. When intelligence of the approach of Husain Kuli Beg Khan reached Mirza Sharafu-d din, he left Tarkhan Diwana, a trusty adherent, in Ajmir, and went off towards Jalor.[228] The Imperial forces invested Ajmir, and after two or three days Tarkhan Diwana capitulated.[229] The nobles then hastened in pursuit of Sharafu-d din towards Jalor.

It so happened that just as Sharafu-d din reached Jalor, Shah Abu-l Ma'ali was returning from Mecca to the Imperial Court, and having had a meeting with Sharafu-d din, they concocted together a rebellious scheme. Abu-l Ma'ali, was to march against the people of Husain Kuli Khan, who were in Hajipur,[230] and having disposed of him was to push on to Kabul and bring Mirza Muhammad Hakim to Hindustan. Sharafu-d din on his side was to do all he could to promote a rebellion. Abu-l Ma'ali marched off, taking with him a party of Sharafu-d din's men, and when he approached Hajipur, he learned that Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg, relations of Husain Kuli Khan, had come out to stop him. Thereupon he turned in the direction of Narnaul, and upon reaching the fort of that place he made Mir Kisu the *shikkdar* prisoner, and seized all the money which he found in the treasury and divided it among his followers.[231]

[228] *Both MSS. have "Nagor", but Abu-l Fazl says "towards Jalor, which he had got into his power," and the context shows him to be right.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 248.*

[229] *The fort of Mirtha also fell into the hands of the Imperial general.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 248.*

[230] *Husain Kuli had left his wives and family there.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 248.*

[231] *"And plundered the town."—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 252.*

After receiving intelligence of this, Husain Kuli Khan sent his brother Ismail Kuli Khan along with Muhammad Sadik Khan in pursuit of Abu-l Ma'ali. Upon reaching Hajipur, and learning that Abu-l Ma'ali had drawn off to Narnaul, they took Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg with them, and went in pursuit of him. Twelve *kos* from Narnaul, the brother of Abu-l Ma'ali, who was named Khan-zada (Muhammad), and was also called Shah Lundan, left his *jagir*, and was on the way to join his brother, but he was intercepted and made prisoner. Abu-l Ma'ali fled from Narnaul and went towards the Panjab. Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg were sent off with a detachment in hot haste after him. A body of the men under their command had formerly served under Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain and these men had found themselves by an oath to desert Ahmad Beg and Sikandar Beg whenever Abu-l Ma'ali should be attacked, and to go over to the latter. One of this party, Dana Kuli by name, slipped away and hastened to inform Abu-l Ma'ali of the conspiracy. Upon hearing it he placed himself in ambush in a jungle by the side of the road, and when the two Begs came up he fell upon them unawares. The conspirators then drew their swords, and advanced against their own commanders, and the other soldiers, seeing how matters stood, took to flight. Ahmad Beg and Sikandar were left quite alone. They fought most manfully, and killed several of their assailants, but were eventually slain.

His Majesty was engaged in a hunting excursion at Mathura when the news of this disaster reached him. He sent Bidagh Khan, Tatar Khan, Rumi Khan, and others, to follow Abu-l Ma'ali, and he himself proceeded to Dehli, the seat of Government (*daru-l mulk*).[232]

A remarkable occurrence has now to be mentioned. When Sharafu-d din Husain fled from Court to Nagor, he had a slave, by name Koka Fulad, one of the slaves of his father, who at all times secretly did everything in his power to injure the Emperor. This wretched man came into the royal camp, and

[232] *He arrived there on the 25th Jumada-l awwal.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 254.*

was constantly on the watch for an opportunity. When the Emperor returned from the hunting excursion, and passing through the bazar of Dehli, came near to the College[233] of Maham Anka, this bloodthirsty fellow shot an arrow at His Majesty; but by the Mercy of God, who watched over the Emperor's safety, it did not inflict a severe wound, but merely grazed the skin. The attendants of the Emperor instantly fell upon the traitor, and with strokes of sword and dagger they sent him to hell. The Emperor pulled out the arrow and rode on to the palace. The wound was cured in a few days, and on the 6th Jumada-s sani he mounted his royal litter,[234] and proceeded to Agra, where he arrived on the 15th of the same month, in the year 971 A.H., agreeing with the eighth year of the reign.

## NINTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year was Wednesday, 29th Rajab, 971 (13th March, 1564). When Abu-l Ma'ali killed Ahmad Beg, and found that the royal army was coming up in pursuit of him, he was dismayed, and turning aside from the direct roads he fled towards Kabul. When he approached Kabul, he wrote a letter full of expressions of affection and devotion for the late Emperor, and sent it to Mah Chochak Begam (the Emperor's widow). She sent to invite him in, and received him with honour. She also gave him her daughter in marriage. Abu-l Ma'ali now pushed himself forward, and took the direction of the establishment of Prince Muhammad Hakim.

A party of malcontents, who were displaced with the treatment they had received from Mah Chocak Begam, such as Shkugun, son of Karracha Khan, and Shadman, and others, leagued with Abu-l Ma'ali, and persuaded him that matters would never go on well as long as the Begam lived. He fell in with

[233] *Abu-l Fazl agrees and says that the man stood near the College (Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 255)*; but Badauni (*vol. ii., p. 62*) *says that the arrow was shot from the roof of the College. He agrees that the wound was merely superficial (post-mal), not the sever wound, "nearly a span deep," which Abu-l Fazl and Firishta describe.*
[234] *sakasan. The Hindi 'sinhhasan' "throne.."*

their views, and slew the unfortunate woman with a dagger. Then he got into his hands the Prince Mirza Muhammad Hakim who was of tender age, and took the direction of the government. He seized upon Haidar Kasim Kohbar, who was the minister (*wakil*) of the Mirza, and put him to death. He also imprisoned his brother Muhammad Kasim. Hereupon Tardi Muhammad Khan, Baki Muhammad Khan Kakshal, Husain Khan, and several other adherents of the late Begam, conspired against him to avenge her death. 'Abdi Sarmast informed Abu-l Ma'ali of this conspiracy, and he instantly armed a party of his supporters, and went forth to destroy them. The conspirators cut their way into the fort, and Abu-l Ma'ali pressed after them. Many on both sides were killed, but at length Abu-l Ma'ali succeeded in driving them out of the fort, and they fled in all directions.

Muhammad Kasim, who was in confinement, obtained his release and went to Mirza Sulaiman, in Badakhshan. He informed him of all that had passed at Kabul, and urged him to march against the city. Mirza Muhammad Hakim also sent a person to Mirza Sulaiman, calling upon him for assistance. The Mirza on hearing the state of affairs, assembled the forces of Badakhshan, and with the approval of Khurram Begam his wife, marched against Kabul. Abu-l Ma'ali, on his side, assembled the forces of Kabul, and taking with him Mirza Muhammad Hakim, advanced to the river Ghorband. Both sides drew up their forces, and the battle began. The Kabul men on the right of Abu-l Ma'ali were defeated by the Badakhshan forces, and began to retreat. He hastened up with some reinforcements to support them, leaving Mirza Muhammad Hakim in charge of his servants. These men seized the opportunity to cross the river and join Mirza Sulaiman. When this was discovered by the Kabul forces, they were seized with panic and every man fled to his home.

When Abu-l Ma'ali came back from his charge, he was dismayed to find no trace either of Mirza Hakim or of his army, so he fled. The Badakhhkshan men pursued and overtook him at the village Charikaran. He was brought to the presence of

Mirza Sulaiman, who, elated with his success, went on to Kabul, taking Mirza Muhammad Hakim with him. Three days afterwards he sent Abu-l Ma'ali, with his hands bound behind his neck, to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and he ordered him to be strangled in punishment of his crimes. This happened on the night of the 17th Ramazan, 970 H. Mirza Sulaiman now sent to Badakhshan for his daughter, and married her to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, After giving *jagirs* in the Kabul territory to many of his followers, and appointing Ummaid 'Ali, who was in his confidence, to the post of minister, he returned to Badakhshan.

In the course of this year, Khwaja Muzaffar Ali Tarbati, one of the old associates of Khan-khanan Bairam Khan, was raised to the office of financial minister (*wazarat-i diwan-i 'ala*), and received the title of *Khan.*[235]

## CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF CHUNAR

The fort of Chunar was held by a slave of 'Adali, named Fattu. He now wrote a letter offering to surrender it.[236] The Emperor sent Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus and Asaf Khan to receive the surrender of the fort. When it was delivered over, they placed it in charge of Husain Khan Turkomam. At this Ghazi Khan Sur, formerly one of the nobles of 'Adali, but who had for a time lived in allegiance to the Emperor, now that Asaf Khan was appointed to the government of Karra, took flight, and went to the country of Panna. There he gathered some men, and arrayed himself in rebellion. When Asaf Khan was sent to Karra, Ghazi Khan led his followers against him, but he was defeated in battle by Asaf Khan, and killed upon the field. Asaf Khan thus established his power and authority.

[235] *Abu-l Fazl places this appointment at the beginning of the eighth year.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 250. See 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p. 348.*

[236] *Abu-l Fazl places this surrender in the sixth year of the reign. The Emperor, on his return from Karra, deputed Asaf Khan to besiege the fort, and this frightened Fattu into submission.—'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 190.*

The country of Garha-Katanka was near to Asaf Khan, and he formed the design of subduing it.[237] The chief place of that country is Chauragarh. It is an extensive country containing seventy thousand (*haftad hazar*) flourishing villages.[238] Its ruler was at this time a woman named Durgavati, who was very beautiful. When Asaf Khan heard the condition of this country, he thought the conquest of it would be an easy matter, so he marched against it with fifty thousand[239] horse and foot. The Rani collected all her forces, and prepared to oppose the invader with 700 elephants, 20,000 horsemen, and infantry innumerable. A battle followed, in which both sides fought obstinately, but by the will of fate the Rani was struck by an arrow, and fearing lest she should fall alive into the hands of the enemy, she made her elephant-driver kill her with a dagger. After the victory Asaf Khan marched against Chauragarh. The son of the Rani, who was in the fort, came forth to meet him ; but he was killed, and the fort was captured, and all its treasures fell into the hands of the conquerors. Asaf Khan, after he had achieved this victory and acquired so much treasure, returned greatly elated, to Karra, and took possession of his government.

### JOURNEY OF THE EMPEROR TO NARWAR

On the 12th Zi-l ka'da 971 H., corresponding with the ninth year of the reign, the Emperor left Agra, and went towards the river Chambal with the object of elephant hunting.[240] In consequence of the heavy rains and the inundations, he had to halt fifteen days, and when he did cross over one of his choice

[237] *See Extract from the 'Akbar-nama', infra.*

[238] *Abu-l Fazl, Badauni, and Faizi all agree in this number, but it is a manifest error.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 264.*

[239] *The MSS. differ widely. One of them says five thousand, the other two fifty thousand. There are other discrepancies. Two of the MSS. omit the word "innumerable," making the Rani's force to be 20,000 horse and foot;" but they agree in the incredible "700 elephants." Firishta, moreover, gives "1,500 elephants and 8,000 horse and foot.—See Extract from the "Tarikh-i Alfi." Supra.*

[240] *According to Abu-l Fazl, the real object was to check the proceedings of 'Abdu-lla Khan.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 279.*

elephants named Lakhna was drowned. When he came to the vicinity of the town of Narwar he pitched his camp, for the jungle hard by was an elephant haunt....After they had cleared that neighbourhood of elephants, he marched on towards Malwa, and halted at Rewar.[241] Heavy rains compelled him to remain two days in sight of that town. From thence he proceeded to Sarangpur, and again the heavy rains and floods greatly distressed his escort. When he approached Sarangpur, Muhammad Kasim Khan Naishapuri the governor came forth to meet him and presented tribute. Next day the Emperor proceeded onwards towarde Mandu.

'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek was governor of Mandu, and as there were sundry differences between him and the Emperor, he was greatly alarmed at his approach, and consequently fled off towards Gujarat. When the Emperor was informed of his flight, he sent Mukim Khan, one of his chief nobles, to 'Abdul-lla, to advise and reassure him. Although Mukim Khan urged and persuaded, his words had no effect, for 'Abdu-lla thought that the object of the Khan was to detain him with words and stories till the royal forces had arrived and secured the roads. So he left Mukim Khan and fled ; and the Khan went back and reported his want of success.

The Emperor's anger was roused, and he gave orders for a force to be sent to arrest 'Abdu-lla's progress. The Emperor himself followed, and on reaching Mandu intelligence arrived that his advanced force was engaged in action with 'Abdu-lla, so he pressed on with all speed. When 'Abdu-lla saw that some of his most faithful followers had fallen, and heard that the Emperor was near at hand, he left his baggage and soldiers and hastened off. The Imperial forces pursued him as far as the country of Ali,[242] on the confines of Gujarat, and drove him away from his wives and elephants. He then went to Changiz Khan in Gujarat. This Changiz Khan was a slave of Sultan Mahmud

[241] *A very doubtful name.*

[242] *"The country of A'l, a large territory (mamlukat) in Malwa."—T. Alfi.*

of Gujarat, after whose death he had obtained the government of the country. The royal forces which had captured the horses and elephants and wives of 'Abdu-lla then turned back to Ali, where they were received with honour.

The Imperial army then moved, and on the new moon of Zi-l hijja, 971 H., reached Mandu. The *zamindars* of the neighbourhood came in to pay their allegiance, and met with a gracious reception. Miran Mubarak Shah, ruler of Khandesh, sent a letter and suitable presents by the hands of ambassadors to the Emperor. After some days the ambassadors received permission to return, and a *farman* was sent to Miran Mubarak Shah directing him to send any one of his daughters whom he thought worthy to attend upon the Emperor. 'Itimad Khan was also sent along with the ambassadors. When Mubarak Shah received this gracious communication, he was greatly delighted, and he sent his daughter with a suitable retinue and paraphernalia to His Majesty, esteeming it a great favour to be allowed to do so. Whilst the Emperor remained at Mandu, Khan Kuli,[243] a servant of 'Abdu-lla Khan, who was now in Hindia[244] and Mukarrab Khan one of the nobles of the Dekhin, in compliance with the royal command, came in with their followers, and had an audience. Mukim Khan, who had exhibited vigour and ability in this expedition, received the title of Shuja' Khan.

In Muharram, 972 (August, 1564) the Imperial camp moved from Mandu, and was pitched in sight of the town of Nalcha.[245] Karra Bahadur Khan was appointed governor of Mandu, and an order was made directing a party of the Imperial followers who remained behind in Mandu to stay in that province along with Karra Bahadur, and zealously serve His Majesty. Two days after, the camp moved towards Agra, and upon reaching Ujjain, it remained there four days, in consequence of heavy rain. In four days' march from thence it reached Sarangpur, and in a week afterwards it arrived at the *pargana*

[243] *"Jan 'Ali."—T. Alfi.*

[244] *"On the borders of Malwa."—T. Alfi. It lies on the left bank of the Nerbadda.*

[245] *Five or six miles north of Mandu.*

of Kherar, within sight of the town. By regular stages it reached Sipri. Here the scouts brought in news of a herd of elephants, in which there was one very large animal.[246] The royal servants went in chase of them, and captured the whole of them. Proceeding by way of Narwar and Gwalior, the Emperor reached Agra on the 3rd Rabi'u-l awwal. In the course of this year the Emperor had twins borne to him, one of whom was named Hasan, the other Husain ; but they lived only a month.

After His Majesty returned from Mandu, and while he was enjoying himself at Agra, he often rode out to Kakrani,[247] a village in the vicinity of the capital, which was remarkable for the purity of its air and the excellence of its water. He deemed this a suitable site for a palace, so he ordered one to be built. In a short time fine houses arose, and a great town sprung up, which was called Nagar-chin.

### ACCOUNT OF KHWAJA MU'AZZAM

Khwaja Mu'azzam was maternal uncle of the Emperor. He was son of 'Ali Akbar, and a descendant of Shaiku-l Islam Ahmad Jam. This person had been guilty of several disgraceful actions during the reign of the Emperor Humayun, who had felt constrained to speak about and censure his offences to his son and successor. His unseemly conduct at length compelled the Emperor to banish him, whereupon he went to Gujarat. From thence he proceeded to Mecca, and after staying there some time he returned to the Court of Humayun. Upon the demise of the crown, Bairam Khan Khan-khanan became the ruling power in the State, and he, knowing the character of the Khwaja, procured an order for his exile. After his banishment, the Khwaja stayed for a while in Gujarat, but subsequently returned to the Court of the Emperor. Bairam Khan then countenanced him, and he received some degree of attention. Upon the disgrace

[246] *"In the present day there are not such forests near Sipri as to afford shelter for droves of elephants."—Briggs, Firishta, vol. ii., p. 216.*

[247] *"Lagrani" in one MS.; Badauni (vol. ii., p. 80) has "Gahrawali," Gulrani.—T. Alfii. Kalkarani.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 298.*

of Bairam Khan, the Emperor took compassion on the Khwaja and gave him some districts in *jagir*. But the Khwaja's perverse and evil nature got the better of him, and he was guilty of some disgraceful deeds. To mention one—There was a woman named Fatima attached to the harem of the late Emperor, and the Khwaja had taken to himself a daughter of hers named Zuhra Agha. After some time he formed the design of putting her to death. Upon her mother being informed of this fact, she hastened to make it known to the Emperor, and to crave his protection. The Emperor was just about to start on a hunting excursion, and he assured the poor mother that he would take measures to rescue her daughter from the Khwaja. Accordingly he sent Tahir Muhammad Khan *Mir-i faraghat* and Rustam Khan to give the Khwaja notice that the Emperor was about to visit him. When Tahir Muhammad reached his house, he was so enraged that he killed the poor woman. As soon as the Emperor arrived, and was informed of the Khwaja's cruel actions, which cried for punishment, he gave orders to his followers to well thrash him, and then to put him in a boat and souse him several times in the river.[248] After this he sent him a prisoner to the fort of Gwalior, where he died in confinement.

### MIRZA SULAIMAN'S THIRD VISIT TO KABUL

It has been before narrated how Mirza Sulaiman came to the rescue of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and how, after overthrowing Shah Abu-l Ma'ali, he gave *jagirs* to his own adherents, and then returned home. Mirza Muhammad Hakim and his people, being greatly annoyed by these Badakhshanis, drove them out of Kabul. Mirza Sulaiman then came again with a large army to take revenge for this expulsion. Mirza Muhammad Hakim left Baki Kakshal in command of his followers at Kabul, and went off himself to Jalalabad and Parshawar. Upon reaching

[248] *Abu-l Fazl says the Emperor had him and his vile associates bound hand and foot and cast into the river. Although immersed several times, he would not drown, and whenever he came up he abused the Emperor. He died insane.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 276.*

the river Maran,[249] Mirza Sulaiman learnt how Mirza Muhammad Hakim had abandoned Kabul, and gone to Jalalabad.

Mirza Muhammad Hakim went on from Parshawar, to the shores of the Indus, and from thence forwarded to the Emperor a letter containing a statement of his grievances. Mirza Sulaiman, on learning that Mirza Muhammad Hakim had made an appeal to the Emperor, and had left Parshawar, stationed one of his adherents named Kambar with three hundred men at Jalalabad, and went towards Kabul.

When the statement of Mirza Muhammad Hakim reached the Imperial Court, an order was given directing all the nobles and *jagirdars* of the Panjab (such as Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas Khan-i Kalan, Kutubu-d din Muhammad Khan, Kamal Khan Gakhar and others) to assemble their forces and march to the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. These nobles, in obedience to the command, proceeded to the Indus, and joined Muhammad Hakim. Then they began their march to recover Kabul. On reaching Jalalabad they sent Mirza Kasan into the place to summon Kambar, Mirza Sulaiman's representative, to surrender; but that doomed one would not submit, so the Imperial forces attacked the fort. They took it in an hour, and put Kambar and all his three hundred men to the sword. Two men were allowed to go and carry the intelligence to Mirza Sulaiman, and the head of Kambar, with the news of the capture of the city, was sent to Baki Kakshal at Kabul.

Mirza Sulaiman, on hearing of the fall of Jalalabad, and the approach of the royal forces, fled to Badakhshan. Mirza Muhammad Hakim, escorted by the Imperial nobles, returned to Kabul, and again assumed the Government. The nobles, in obedience to the orders which they had received from the Emperor, then returned to their *jagirs*, excepting Khan-i Kalan, who had been appointed guardian of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Shortly afterwards the Mirza without consulting Khan-i Kalan, gave his sister, who had formerly been married to Shah Abu-l Ma'ali, to be the wife of Khwaja Husain Nakshabandi, a descend-

[249] *One MS. says simply "the river".*

ant of Khwaja Bahau-d din. Presuming upon the importance he had acquired by this marriage, the Khwaja began to interfere in the affairs of the Mirza, and to call Khan-i Kalan to account. The Khan was a hot-tempered man, and would not endure this, so he left Kabul, and went to Lahore without taking leave. Then he made a report of what had occurred to the Emperor.

### TENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Sunday, 9th Sha'ban, 972 H. (11 March, 1565 A.D.). At the beginning of this year His Majesty wished to go elephant hunting. Scouts were accordingly sent out to seek for the animals, and to report when they found them. On the 1st Rajab, 972, the Emperor himself started for Narwar and Garha by way of Dhulpur. Upon reaching Narwar, he pitched his camp. The scouts then reported that there were several herds of elephants in the neighbouring jungles. His Majesty speedily went to the jungle, and returned after capturing all the elephants. Another day the scouts brought news to the camp that there were many elephants in a desert about eight *kos* distant. The royal servants started off, and towards the close of the day they found the animals, every one of which they captured. They drove them towards the fort of Panwa, where they arrived in the middle of the night. Three hundred and fifty elephants were taken that day. From thence they returned to the royal camp, which was in the vicinity of Garha. There it remained nearly twenty days. The hot season now came on, and the unhealthy winds blew and many men in the camp became weak and ill, so His Majesty returned to Agra.

### BUILDING OF THE FORT OF AGRA

In this year the command was given for building a new fort of hewn stone at Agra, instead of the old citadel, which was of brick, and had vecome ruinous. The foundation was accordingly laid, and in four years, the fortress was completed.[250] In these

[250] *The work was carried on under the direction of Kasim Khan Mir-i barr o bahr, and was completed in eight years.—'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 311.*

days it has no equal in the world. The walls are ten *gaz* in thickness, and are built of stone and mortar. The stones are cut on both sides and are joined with the greatest nicety. The height of the fort is more than forty *gaz*. There is a moat dug all round, and faced on both sides with stone and mortar. It is twenty *gaz* wide and ten *gaz* deep, and water is conducted into it from the river Jumna. The cost of this building was nearly three *krors* of *tankas*.[251] The date of foundation of its gates is found in the words *"binai dar-i bihisht"* (974 H.).

### REBELLION OF 'ALI KULI KHAN-ZAMAN, IBRAHIM PHAN, AND SIKANDAR KHAN

In consequence of the severe proceedings against 'Abdu-lla Khan Uzbek, which have been narrated above, an opinion got abroad that the Emperor had a bad opinion of the Uzbeks. When the Emperor went to Narwar elephant hunting, Ashraf Khan *Mir-Munshi* was sent to Sikandar Khan, to conciliate him with gracious promises of the Emperor's favour, and to bring him to court. As Ashraf Khan approached Oudh, which was the *jagir* of Sikandar Khan, the latter came out to meet him, and conducted him to his house with all due ceremony. He submitted to the Emperor's command, and acted as if he meant to go to Court. But after some days he said to Ashraf Khan, "Ibrahim Khan is a much greater man than I, and he is in this neighbourhood ; the best thing we can do is to go to him, and get him to acquiesce in your demand. We will then go to Court together." Upon this understanding they went to the town of Sarawar,[252] which was the *jagir* of Ibrahim Khan.

When Sikandar Khan and Ibrahim Khan met, they took

[251] *An assessment in money amounting to the value of three 'sirs' of grain per 'jarib' of land was imposed, and collectors and officers (tawachi) were appointed to realize it from the 'jagirdars'.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 74.*

[252] *"Surharpur."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 75. Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 314. Surharpur is in the 'sarkar' of Jaunpur.—Elliot's Glossary, vol. ii., p. 112.*

counsel together, and resolved to consult with 'Ali Kuli Khan, who was one of their own tribe, and was the Emperor's representative in their part of the country. In pursuance of this resolution, and with the concurrence of Ashraf Khan, they proceeded to Jaunpur, the *jagir* of Khan-zaman. After consultation their judgment was adverse to the course proposed, and they determined to rebel. They improperly detained Ashraf Khan, and then broke into open rebellion. Ibrahim Khan and Sikandar Khan went to Lucknow, full of hostile designs. Khan-zaman and his brother went to Karra Manikpur, and there began their revolt.

Shaham Khan Jalair, Shah Bidagh Khan, Amir Khan, Muhammad Amin Diwana, Sultan Kuli Khaldar, with all the *jagirdars* of his neighbourhood, Shah Tahir Badakhshi, the brother of Shah Khalilu-lla, and other nobles, being informed of these rebellious proceedings, marched out against the rebels, and fought against them. In the curse of the fighting Muhammad Amin fell from his horse, and was made prisoner by the rebels. Shaham Khan and Bidagh Khan exerted themselves most strenuously, but as the forces of the rebels more than doubled their own, they were obliged to retreat and shut themselves up in the fort of Namikha,[253] from whence they sent an account to the Emperor.

Khan-zaman and his brother Bahadur Khan now showed their dispositions, and began to plunder the country in their neighbourhood. Majnun Khan Kakshal,[254] the *jagirdar* of that quarter, shut himself up in the fort of Manikpur. He sent to inform Asaf Khan Khwaja 'Abdu-l Majid, governor of Garha, of the state of affairs, and summoned him to his side. Leaving a detachment in charge of the country of Garha, Asaf Khan proceeded with a strong force to Karra, which was his own *jagir*. There he divided, as a bounty among the soldiers, the treasures

[253] *Var. "Namakha." "Nim-kahar."—Badáuni. "Nimkar."—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 315.*

[254] *See Blochmann's 'Ain-i Akbari,' vol. i., p., 369.*

of Chauragarh which had fallen into his hands. He also sent a large sum to Majnun Khan. Asaf Khan and Majnun Khan took a bold course, and went forth to confrnt the rebels, and sent a report to the Emperor of the position.

When the statements of the *amirs* reached the Emperor at his encampment, he resolved to punish these attempts. He ordered Mu'nim Khan Khan-khanan to march in advance with a strong force, and to cross over the river at Kanauj, to keep the enemy in check. He himself remained behind a few days to collect and organize his forces. In the month of Shawwal he crossed over the Jumna, and marched to chastise the rebels. Upon approaching Kanauj, Mu'nim Khan came forth to meet him, bringing with him Kiya Khan Gang, who had joined the rebels, and begged forgiveness for him. The Emperor pardoned his crime, and restored him to his former position. He remained ten days waiting for an opportunity to cross the river.

When the waters subsided, intelligence was brought that Sikandar Khan, heedless of what was to happen, was still in Lucknow. Thereupon His Majesty left Khwaja Jahan, Muzaffar Khan and Mu'in Khan in charge of the camp, while he himself started off at midnight with a valiant body of men to march against the rebel with all speed. That night and the next day he struggled through all obstacles without taking rest, and on the following morning came in sight of Sikandar at Lucknow. As soon as Sikandar heard of his approach, he hastily abandoned Lucknow and fled. The horses of the Emperor's force were quite worn out with fatigue, so Sikandar made his escape, and went off unmolested to Khan-zaman and Bahadur Khan. They also were now alarmed, and retreated from before Asaf Khan to Jaunpur. They marched from thence, and sending forward their adherents, they crossed the river at the ferry of Narhan, and halted on the other side of the river.

The Emperor sent on Yusuf Muhammad Khan[255] in advance from Lucknow, and himself followed close after him.

[255] *Son of the late Atka Khan.*

He encamped in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur, and there Asaf Khan and Majnun Khan came to pay their respects, and were graciously received. Asaf Khan brought with him some costly offerings, which were accepted. Next day his army, which had been got together by means of the treasures of Garha, and numbered five thousand horse, was drawn out in the plain and reviewed by His Majesty, who expressed his royal satisfaction. On Friday, the 12th Zi-l hijja, the royal forces entered the citadel of Jaunpur. Orders were given to Asaf Khan and other great nobles to cross over the Ganges at the ferry of Narhan, where 'Ali Kuli Khan and his followers had passed, and then to go to confront the rebels, and act according to circumstances. Asaf Khan, in obedience to orders, crossed the Ganges with the force under his command.

Between 'Ali Kuli Khan-zaman and Sulaiman Kirani Afghan, ruler of Bengal, there was a strong alliance and identity of interest; it was therefore deemed expedient to send an envoy to Sulaiman, in order to forbid his rendering assistance to Khan-zaman. Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani, a man remarkable for prudence, was accordingly sent. When he reached the fort of Rohtas, some Afghan chiefs, who were in league with 'Ali Kuli Khan, arrested him and sent him to 'Ali Kuli. The Haji was on very friendly terms with the Khan, who was greatly pleased to see him, and did his utmost to treat him with respect and honour. The Khan thought it advisable to make the Haji the medium of seeking forgiveness for his offences, and determined to send his mother along with the Haji to make intercession at Court. The result of this proceeding will be hereafter narrated.

## ORISSA

The Raja of Orissa, one of the divisions of the province of Bengal, was a powerful chief, and kept a strong hand over all the surrounding country. The Emperor sent Husain Khan Khazanchi and Mahapatar, who was an accomplished master of Hindi music, on an embassy to the Raja, holding out great

promises of favour and distinction to induce him to prevent Sulaiman Khan Afghan from rendering any assistance to 'Ali Kuli Khan. After honourably entertaining Husain Khan and Mahapatar for four months, he sent them back to Court with several fine elephants and other splendid presents. This country of Orissa is an extensive territory, of which the capital is Jagannath—Jagannath being an idol which gives name and renown to the city.

### FLIGHT OF ASAF KHAN TO GARHA

After Asaf Khan had joined the Emperor and shown his forces, Muzaffar Khan showed hostility towards him, and induced some persons to bring charges against him in respect of the plunder of Garha. He himself also alarmed Asaf Khan with some significant observations. This filled the heart of Asaf Khan with suspicion and anxiety. When he was made commander of the forces, and was sent against 'Ali Kuli Khan, he seized the opportunity, and at midnight went off with his brother Wazir Khan, and his party, towards Karra. Next day the chief nobles, without delay, communicated the fact of his flight to the Emperor, and the Emperor appointed Mu'nim Khan to succeed him in the command. He also sent Shuja'at Khan with a detachment in pursuit of Asaf Khan, to chastise him for his conduct. When Shuja'at Khan reached Manikpur, he found that Asaf Khan had gone to Karra, and intended to proceed from thence to Garha-Katanka.[256] Shuja'at Khan embarked his men in boats, intending to cross the river and Asaf Khan, being informed of this, turned back to the river-bank, and reached it as the boats arrived. A great struggle ensued, in which Asaf Khan succeeded in preventing the landing of Shuja'at Khan, who was obliged to return to his own side at nightfall. In the course of the night, Asaf Khan resumed his flight, and next morning Shuja'at Khan crossed the river in pursuit; but finding the attempts to overtake him hopeless, he fell back and rejoined the Emperor at Jaunpur.

[256] *Near Jabalpur, in Central India. See a note in Blochmann's 'Ain-l Akbari,' vol. i., p. 367.*

MISSION OF KALIJ KHAN TO THE FORT OF ROHTAS

This fort is situated in Bihar, and in height and strength excels all the fortresses of Hindustan. The surface of the hill upon which the fort is built is more than fourteen *kos* in length, and its width is three *kos,* and the height from the plain to the battlements is about half a *kos.*[257] From the time of Sher Khan Afghan it remained in the hands of the Afghans, until the time when Sulaiman Kirani became ruler of Bengal. Fath Khan Battani then seized upon it, and refused to submit to Sulaiman. In the year 972 H., Sulaiman collected an army, and in the expectation of the help of 'Ali Kuli Khan marched against Rohtas, and laid siege to it.

When the Imperial forces marched in that direction against Khan-zaman, Fath Khan, seizing upon this favourable chance,[258] sent his brother Husain Khan to the Emperor with rich presents, and with a message in which he said that the fort belonged to the Emperor, and that he would send him the keys as soon as the Imperial camp was pitched at Jaunpur. Sulaiman, on being informed of the approach of the Imperial forces, raised the siege. Fath Khan being thus relieved of his adversary, brought into the fort all the provisions he could collect. Repenting of having sent his brother on the mission, he now wrote to him directions to make his escape, and come into the fort, which was well stored. When the Emperor encamped at Jaunpur, Husain Khan requested that some one might be sent with him to receive the keys of the fort. Kalij Khan was accordingly sent to receive the keys from Fath Khan, and bring them to the Emperor. But when Kalij Khan reached Rohtas, Fath Khan affected to comply, and detained him some days. Kalij Khan at length discovered the duplicity of Fath Khan, and returned to Court unsuccessful.

[257] *Agriculture is carried on within the fortress, and water is so abundant that if a peg is driven into the ground, or a hole is dug for a fire, water is everywhere found.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 78.*

[258] *Abu-l Fazl says that Fath Khan having professed allegiance, the Emperor sent Kalij Khan to arrange matters. He was so far successful that Fath Khan sent his brother with Kalij Khan to wait upon Akbar.—'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 236.*

PROCEEDINGS OF 'ALI KULI KHAN (KHAN-ZAMAN)

When 'Ali Kuli Khan faced the Imperial forces at the ferry of Narhan, he sent his brother Bahadur Khan, in company with Sikandar Khan to the country of Sarwar,[259] in order to stir up a rebellion in that country. When this news reached His Majesty's ears, he issued orders for several of the chief nobles, such as Shah Bidagh Khan and his son 'Abdu-l Matlab Khan, Kiya Khan and . . . . to march against Sikandar and Bahadur Khan, under the command of Mir Mu'izu-l Mulk, who was a descendant of the Saiyids of Meshhed, and was renowned for his valour.[260]

It has been already mentioned that Khan-khanan (Mu'nim Khan) was sent to take the place of Asaf Khan in command of the army, which confronted Khan-zaman at the ferry of Narhan. Between Khan-khanan and Khan-zaman there was an old and warm friendship, and when they were thus opposed to each other, a correspondence was opened, and it was agreed that Khan-zaman should wait upon Khan-khanan to discuss the terms of peace. The negotiations lingered on for four or five months, and warlike operations were suspended.

The Emperor then sent Khwaja-jahan and Darbar Khan to the army, to ascertain and report if this cessation of hostilities were advisable, and if not to order an immediate advance of the Imperial forces over the river against the rebels. When Khwaja-jahan and Darbar Khan reached the army, Khan-zaman resolved to profit by their arrival, and having offered his congratulations he brought forward his proposals of peace. After many communications and much correspondence, it was agreed that Khan-zaman and Ibrahim Khan on one side, and Khwaja Jahan and Darbar Khan on the other side, should have an inter-

[259] *So in the MSS., and so written also by Badauni and Abu-l Fazl. It would therefore seem to be another name of Surharpur. See note supra.*

[260] *Badauni (vol. ii., pp. 79, 80) on the contrary, speaks of his incapacity, and is sarcastic about the impractical temper of the people of Meshhed. See Blochmann's Ain-i Akbari, vol. i., p. 381.*

view in boats in the middle of the river.[261] After a long discussion it was determined that Khan-zaman should send his mother, 'Ali Khan, and Ibrahim Khan his uncle, to the Court of the Emperor, to ask pardon for his offences. Upon receiving forgiveness the Khan and his brother and Sikandar Khan were to go to Court. Khan-zaman was also to send with his mother some elephants which he possessed. These matters being agreed upon, Khan-zaman returned to his camp. Khan-khanan and Khwaja-jahan wrote a statement of the settlement, and sent it by Darbar Khan to the Emperor. Next day 'Ali Kuli Khan sent his mother, and Ibrahim Khan, and the elephants in charge of Mir Hadi his *Sadr*, and Nizam Aka, one of his confidants. Khan-khanan and Khwaja-jahan took them and the elephants, and proceeded to Court to ask forgiveness for Khan-zaman.

Just at this time accounts arrived of the operations which Mir Mu'izu-l Mulk and the other nobles were carrying on against Bahadur Khan and Sikandar, whom Khan-zaman had sent to create disturbances and make a diversion in the *sarkar* of Sarwar. When intelligence of the approach of the royal forces reached them, they halted where they were, and sent persons to Mir Mu'izu-l Mulk to assure him that they had no wish to contend against him, and entreated him to be the mediator to obtain their forgiveness from the Emperor. They promised to send the elephant which they had as an offering, and to return to their duty upon pardon being vouchsafed to them. Mu'izu-l Mulk sent to say that their offences could be purified only by the sword. Bahadur Khan again sent a person to Mu'izu-l Mulk to propose that he should wait upon him, and discuss the matter. Mu'izu-l Mulk agreed to this, and went to the border of his camp, whither Bahadur Khan came to meet him, and to make his propositions of peace. But Mu'izu-l Mulk would hear of

[261] *Abu-l Fazl condemns Khan-khanan's simplicity, says that it was he who met Khan-zaman on the river and settled the terms of peace, and that at his recommendation the Emperor sent Khwaja-jahan to reassure Khan-zaman.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 326. But Badauni states (vol. ii., p. 79) that Khan-khanan and Khwaja-jahan went together to the meeting, attended by three or four others.*

nothing but war, so Bahadur Khan returned disappointed, and resolved to make ready for battle.

Lashkar Khan *Mir Bakhshi* and Raja Todar Mal[262] now arrived with reinforcements for the royal army,[263] and Bahadur Khan and Sikandar Khan renewed their proposals of peace, and asked for a delay until it was ascertained what answer was given by the Emperor to the mother of Khan-jahan and to Ibrahim Khan, who had been sent to sue for forgiveness. But Mu'izu-l Mulk was so eager for war[264] that he would not listen to their words, and so brought upon himself defeat.

Mu'izu-l Mulk drew out his forces for battle, and sent on his advanced guard under Muhammad Amin Diwana, Salim Khan, 'Abdul Matlab Khan, Beg Murin Khan, and other veteran soldiers; he himself took post with the main body. On the other side Sikandar had command of the advance, and Bahadur of the centre. In this order they advanced, and a warm action ensued. The royal forces defeated the advanced division under the command of Sikandar. Muhammad Yar, his son-in-law, was killed, and he himself fell back to the Black River, which was in his rear. Many of his soldiers were drowned in the river, and many others died by the sword. The victorious forces then broke up in search of plunder. Mu'izu-l Mulk, with a few men, kept his position, and Bahadur until now did not stir from his

262 *Raja Todar Mal, the celebrated financier and administrator, was a Khatri and a native of Lahore. His father died when the son was quite young, and left no provision for him. The young man entered life as a writer, but he soon rose from that humble position, and was employed by Sher Shah in superintending the erection of New Rohtas. It was under the able government of Sher Shah that his natural talents were trained and developed so that he was afterwards of inestimable service to Akbar, and made a name which still remains famous. This is the first time the Tabakat mentions him, but henceforward he is one of the most prominent and active of all the able subordinates of Akbar. He died on the 11th day of the year 998 (10 Nov. 1589).*

263 *"They were sent to hasten on a decision either for peace or war." —Badauni, vol. ii., p. 80.*

264 *"Mu'iz was all fire, and Raja Todar Mal poured on oil and naphtha."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 80.*

post. But now he seized the favourable moment, attacked Mu'izu-l Mulk, and drove him from his position. Muhammad Baki Khan and other of the *amirs,* under pretence of securing the baggage, and some others, treacherously withdrew themselves and stamped themselves with disloyalty. Shah Bidagh Khan, observing the condition of affairs, hastened forward, and in the heat of the fight was unhorsed. His son 'Abdu-l Matlab Khan rushed forward to rescue his father; but just at that juncture a party of the enemy made a charge and took Bidagh Khan prisoner, and it was only by dint of great exertion that 'Abdu-l Matlab made his escape. Mir Mu'izu-l Mulk was compelled to turn his back and flee. Raja Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan, who were in reserve, struggled valiantly till night, and maintained their position; but as the centre had been driven away, their efforts were fruitless.

Next day all the defeated forces assembled in one place,[265] and made for Kanauj, after sending a report of the engagement to His Majesty.

It has already been related how Khan-khanan conducted the mother of Khan-zaman and Ibrahim Khan, with Mir Hadi Sadr and Nizam Aka, to the Court of the Emperor. Ibrahim Khan, with uncovered head and with a sword and shroud upon his neck, stepped forward, and Khan-khanan entreated forgiveness. He urged that the services of Khan-zaman and his brother to the Imperial throne were manifest to all men, and the services they had rendered were invaluable. By the influence of their destiny they had now been guilty of an offence; but he trusted that the boundless mercy and kindness of His Majesty would look with an eye of tenderness upon the faults of such useful servants.

When this old servant thus besought forgiveness for past offences with a face full of hope, the Emperor, out of the kindness that he felt for Khan-khanan, said, "For your sake, I forgive their offences, but I am not satisfied that they will remain

[265] *"At Shergarh."—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 72.*

faithful." Khan-khanan then inquired what the order was as regarded their *jagirs*, and His Majesty replied, "As I have pardoned their offences, what question can there be about their *jagirs*? But so long as I remain in this neighbourhood they must not come over the river. When I return to the capital, they must send their *vakils* there, and *farmans* for their *jagirs* shall then be issued, under which they may take possession." Khan-khanan cast a look of joy to heaven, and sent the good news of the pardon to the mother of Khan-zaman. By command of the Emperor, the sword and shroud were taken off the neck of Ibrahim Khan. Khan-zaman's mother immediately sent messengers to Sikandar and Bahadur Khan, to carry the glad tidings of the pardon, and to inspire them with hope. She also advised them to send directly to Court the elephants which they possessed. Sikandar and Bahadur were greatly delighted at this information, and sent the elephants called Koh-para and Saf-shikan, along with other gifts, to His Majesty.

At the same time the report arrived from Raja Todar Mal and Lashkar Khan upon the action which had been fought, and upon the misconduct of some of the *amirs*, as above related. His Majesty had pardoned the offences (of Sikandar and Bahadur Khan), so he said, "their faults have been forgiven;" and to carry out his decision he sent orders to his *amirs* to return to Court. Mir Mu'izu-l Mulk, Raja Todar Mal, and Lashkar Khan, accordingly returned; but those who had acted disgracefully were forbidden to make their appearance for a time.

The Emperor then went to visit the fort of Chunar, celebrated for its height and strength. He made three days' march from Jaunpur to Benares, and there rested several days. From thence he went to the fortress, and having surveyed it, he ordered it to be repaired and strengthened. Here he was informed that there were many elephants in the jungles of Chunar, so he set off with a party of his attendants on a hunting expedition. At ten *kos* distance they found a herd, and having captured ten, they returned to the fort of Chunar, and from thence to the Imperial camp.

### MARCH AGAINST 'ALI KULI KHAN-ZAMAN

It has been above related how Khan-zaman was pardoned, and his *jagirs* restored, upon condition that he did not pass over the river without permission. But when the Emperor had gone to Chunar, he crossed the river, and went to Muhammadabad, one of the dependencies of Jaunpur, and from thence sent parties of troops to occupy Ghazipur and Jaunpur. As soon as the Emperor returned to his camp, he was informed of this evil proceeding of 'Ali Kuli Khan's and he said reproachfully to Khan-khanan, "No sooner had I quitted this neighbourhood than 'Ali Kuli Khan broke the conditions of his pardon." Khan-khanan looked mortified, and endeavoured to make excuse.

Orders were given for Ashraf Khan *Mir-bakhshi* to go to Jaunpur, and make prisoner the mother of 'Ali Kuli Khan, who was in that city, and to confine her in the fort of Jaunpur. He was also to secure every rebel he could lay hold of. Khwaja Jahan and Muzaffar Khan were to remain with the camp, and lead it by regular marches. The Emperor himself, with a considerable force, started off upon a rapid march against 'Ali Kuli Khan. Ja'far Khan, son of Karak Khan Turkoman, who had come from 'Irak, went to the fort of Ghazipur, intending to make a dash at it; but 'Ali Kuli Khan's people, who were in the fort, hearing of his intention, let themselves down from the walls on to the river Ganges, and went to Muhammadabad.

Khan-zaman, who was in that town, on being informed of what had occurred, hastened to make his escape by the water. When he reached the river Sarwar ( Saru ), some boats, laden with his property and effects, fell into the hands of the royal forces. A body of troops was sent across the river with orders to take no rest until they had secured Khan-zaman. The forces under the Emperor occupied the banks of the Sarwar ( Saru ), and after searching all the jungles, they found that Khan-zaman had gone off to the Siwalik hills.[266] News now arrived that

[266] *He proceeded first to the fort of Jalupara.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 335.*

Bahadur Khan had gone to Jaunpur,[267] and liberated his mother. He made Ashraf Khan prisoner, and formed the design of making an attack upon the royal camp.[268] Upon learning this, the Emperor gave up the chase of Khan-zaman, and turned towards Jaunpur. The detachment also, which had been sent on in pursuit of him, returned and joined the Emperor. Sikandar and Bahadur Khan, being informed of this movement, made a retreat, and crossed the Ganges at the ferry of Narhan.

In the month of Rajab, when the royal camp was near the *pargana* of Nizamabad, the annual *Majlis-i wazn* was held. Twice every year, on the Emperor's birthday, both according to the solar and lunar reckoning, the ministers and nobles weighed the Emperor against gold, silver and other things, which things were afterwards distributed among the poor and needy.[269]

The Emperor marched from Nizamabad to Jaunpur, where he ordered a pleasant site to be selected, and a splendid palace to be built; and the nobles also were to build houses and palaces suitable to their rank. For it was determined that so long as 'Ali Kuli Khan and his brother should remain in the world, Jaunpur should be the capital of the State. The royal forces were sent in pursuit of the fugitives, with instructions to take no rest until they had inflicted the punishment due to them. When 'Ali Kuli Khan heard of this, he left the Siwalik hills, whither he had fled, and came to the side of the Ganges. Then he sent a faithful follower named Mirza Mubarak Rizwi[270] to Court with a message. This man went along with the mother of Khan-zaman to Khan-khanan, and delivered his message. Khan-khanan, with the assistance of Mir 'Abdu-l Latif, Mulla 'Abdu-lla Makhdumu-l Mulk, who was Shaikhu-l Islam of Hind, and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Nabi the *Sadr*, again made intercession

[267] *He took the fort by escalade.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 83.*

[268] *He levied contributions at Jaunpur, and afterwards, at Benares.—Akbar-nama, vol. ii., p. 336.*

[269] *This is a Hindu practice, and Badouni says (vol. ii., p. 84) the gold and other things were given to the brahmans and others.*

[270] *This was the title he afterwards acquired. He was at this time called Mirza Mirak.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 84.*

for Khan-zaman; and the Emperor in his great kindness, once more pardoned his offences.

Khwaja-jahan, Mir Murtaza Sharifi, and Makhdumu-l Mulk were commanded to go to Khan-zaman, to reprove him, and to convey to him the glad tidings of his forgiveness. When the party reached the camp of Khan-zaman, he came forth to meet them, and conducted them with great honour to his dwelling. He detained them some time, and treated them most respectfully. Then as required, he expressed contrition for his faults, took an oath of fidelity, and bade his visitors farewell. The Emperor's opponents having repented of their unrighteous deeds, and made their submission, he returned to the capital in the beginning of the eleventh year of the reign, corresponding with 973 H.

## ELEVENTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 20th Sha'ban, 973 H. (12th March, 1566). The Court reached the capital Agra at the beginning of this year, on Friday, the 8th Ramazan. After a few days' rest and pleasure, the Emperor visited Nagar-chin, a fine building which he had founded. (*His pleasure in the game of chaugan; game played at night with fire-balls. Death of Muhammad Yusuf Khan Atka, Kokaltash of the Emperor, from excessive drinking*).

## MARCH OF MAHDI KASIM KHAN TO GARHA, AND FLIGHT OF ASAF KHAN TO KHAN-ZAMAN

The Emperor's mind being now relieved from all anxiety in respect of 'Ali Kuli Khan and other rebels, Mahdi Kahim Khan, one of the old nobles of the Imperial house, was sent with 3,000 or 4,000 men to Garha to settle the affairs of that country, and to capture Asaf Khan. Before Mahdi Kasim Khan arrived, Asaf Khan quitted the fort of Chauragarh, and went off into the jungles. He wrote a letter, full of humility and repentance, to the Emperor, asking permission to go on the pilgrimage.

Mahdi Kasim Khan, on arriving in Garha, secured all the country, and went in pursuit of Asaf Khan, who then wrote letters to Khan-zaman, proposing to go and join him. Khan-zaman, wrote in reply, inviting him to come to him. Asaf Khan, deceived by this, went to Jaunpur, along with his brother Wazir Khan; but at the very first audience he beheld the arrogance of Khan-zaman, and was sorry that he had come. Mahdi Kasim Khan, being in despair of capturing the fugitive, returned to Garha, and he sent back to Court the men who had been despatched to reinforce him.

Khan-zaman sent Asaf Khan along with Bahadur Khan to seize upon some territories which were in the hands of the Afghans; but he kept Wazir Khan near himself, and appointed men to watch him. Wazir Khan sent a person to Asaf Khan to say, "I intend to fly from this place at such and such a time: do you also in some way or other get away from Bahadur Khan." Asaf Khan accordingly, leaving all his baggage and property behind, went off in the night, and took the road to Karra-Manikpur. In the course of the night he travelled thirty *kos*, but Bahadur Khan pursued him, and overtook him between Jaunpur and Manikpur. A fight ensued, in which Asaf Khan was defeated and taken prisoner. Bahadur Khan threw him into a *howda* on an elephant, and went on his way, when Wazir Khan, who had got away from Khan-zaman, came up. Bahadur Khan, feeling that he was unable to cope with Wazir Khan, gave orders for putting Asaf Khan to death at once in the *howda*. Sword-cuts were aimed at Asaf Khan, three of his fingers were cut off, and he received a wound also in the nose; but Wazir Khan fought his way through, and rescued his brother. The two brothers then went to Karra, and Bahadur Khan returned without accomplishing his object. Wazir Khan proceeded to Court, and, through the intervention of Muzaffar Khan, he was admitted to an audience, and received pardon for his own and his brother's offences, while His Majesty was near Lahore, engaged in the pursuit of Mirza Muhammad Hakim and in hunting as will be related in their appropriate place. A *farman* of favour and conciliation was sent to Asaf Khan.

## MIRZA SULAIMAN'S FOURTH ATTEMPT UPON KABUL

It has been related in a former page how Mirza Sulaiman led his army against Kabul, and how the Imperial forces were sent to the assistance of Mirza Muhammad Hakim. Mirza Sulaiman, unable to resist, retreated to Badakhshan, and the Imperial nobles, having taken leave of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, returned to Hindustan. Sulaiman being now informed of the return of the Emperor's forces, assembled his army in Badakhshan, and marched with his wife Khurram Begam to effect the conquest of Kabul. Mirza Muhammad Hakim left Kabul in charge of Ma'sum Koka, who was in his confidence, and had a reputation for courage. He himself went with Khwaja Hasan Nakshabandi and the army into the valley of the Ghoraband. Mirza Sulaiman advanced to Kabul, and invested the fortress. When he found that he was not likely to capture it, he took counsel, and sent his wife Khurram Begam into Ghoraband to Mirza Muhammad Hakim, in order to delude him with a show of kindness and friendship, and to prevail over him by plausible representations. Khurram Begam accordingly left Mirza Sulaiman before Kabul, and went towards Ghorband. She sent forward some persons to assure Mirza Muhammad Hakim of her great affection for him, that having no son of her own, she looked upon him as her son, and that the great object of her journey was to bring about concord and unity.

Mirza Muhammad Hakim, in consequence of this message, determined to have a meeting with Khurram Begam at Karabagh, which is about ten *kas* from Kabul ; and he sent messengers to her to inform her of his intention, and to receive from her satisfactory assurances. Khurram Begam showed great joy at the prospect of a meeting, and affirmed with strong oaths that she had no deceitful or treacherous designs, and that her sole object was unanimity. The messengers listened to these words and returned. They had not gone far, when that stupid[271] woman sent off messengers in hot haste to Mirza Sulaiman,

[271] *nakis-'akl, hardly an appropriate epithet.*

informing him of the intended meeting at Karabagh, and advising him to come there secretly with all speed and await his opportunity. Mirza Sulaiman left Muhammad Kuli Shaghali, a man of courage and one of his confidential nobles, with 1,000 men, in charge of his daughters, who were with him in his camp at Kabul. With the rest of the army he made a forced march to the neighbourhood of Karabagh, and there took post in ambush.

The messengers sent by Mirza Muhammad Hakim to Khurram Begam returned to him, and reported all her assurances and pledges. They strongly urged him to meet her, and Khwaja Hasan Nakshabandi exerted his influence to the same end. But Baki Kakshal was opposed to the Mirza's going, and said the woman was intent upon some stratagem and deception. Mirza Muhammad Hakim, however, having promised to meet Khurram Begam, would not listen to Baki Kakshal's objections, and proceeded with a few trusty followers towards Karabagh. When they reached the appointed place, some of Mirza Sulaiman's soldiers, who had got separated in the night, came in and made known the fact of Mirza Sulaiman having come, and of his lying in concealment. As soon as he was informed of this, Mirza Muhammad Hakim returned, and Sulaiman, being informed of his departure, set off in pursuit. In the pass of Sanjad-darra they overtook some of Mirza Muhammad Hakim's men and made them prisoners. They also plundered the Mirza's baggage, etc., which was in the rear, and they stopped in the pass. The Mirza himself, along with Muhhamad Hakim, reached Ghorband. From thence they went to Jalalabad, and afterwards to the banks of the Indus.

As soon as he crossed the river, the Mirza wrote a letter to the Emperor, and sent it by his envoys. They reached the Court at the time it was at Nagar-chin, and were honoured with an interview. They presented the Mirza's letter, in which he set forth the unfortunate state of affairs. Intelligence of the distractions at Kabul had reached the Court before their arrival, and the Emperor had appointed Faridun Khan, maternal uncle of the Mirza, and a noble of the Imperial Court, to go to his assist-

ance. He now sent Khus-khabr Khan, one of the royal heralds, with money, goods of Hindustan, and a horse and saddle, to the Mirza; and he wrote a *farman,* in which he said that if the Mirza required assistance, he would send the *amirs* of the Panjab to support him.

When Khus-khabr Khan approached the camp, the Mirza hastened out with due ceremony and respect to receive the *farman.* After the arrival of Khush-khabr Khan, Faridun laboured to instigate the Mirza to hostile attempts, representing that it would be easy for him to effect the conquest of Lahore. Hostilities having been resolved upon, he tried to persuade the Mirza to seize Khush-khabr Khan. But although the Mirza had been led away by his foolish persuations, he was too honourable to consent to the detention of Khush-khabr Khan; so he invited the Khan to his presence secretly, and sent him away. Sultan 'Ali, a clerk who had fled from the Court, and Hasan Khan, brother of Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, who was in Kabul, helped to exite the hostile spirit, and added their voices to Faridun's.

Won over by their persuasions, the Mirza broke into open revolt, and marched against Lahore. Upon coming into the neighbourhood of the city, he began to plunder. Some of the nobles of the Panjab, such as Mir Muhammad Khan-i Kalan,[272] Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan, and Sharif Muhammad, hearing of these proceedings, assembled in Lahore. They looked to the safety of the fort, and wrote an account of the Mirza's rebellion and hostile acts to the Emperor. On arriving near Lahore, the Mirza encamped in the garden of Mahdi Kasim Khan, which is in sight of the city. Several times he marshalled his forces, and advanced to the foot of the fortifications; but the *amirs* of the Panjab repulsed him with the fire of their guns and muskets. At length, when intelligence came of the advance of the royal forces, the Mirza feeling unable to offer resistance, took to flight.

[272] *"And all the Atka amirs," i.e., all the relations of Shamsu-d din Muhammad Atka.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 91. The Khan-i Kalan was elder brother of Shamsu-d din.*

## MARCH OF THE ARMY TO LAHORE

When the hostile proceedings of Mirza Muhammad Hakim became known to the Emperor, his countenance showed the anger which he felt and he gave orders for the preparation of the army. Leaving Mun'im Khan Khan-khanan, in charge of Agra, the capital, and Muzaffar Khan in direction of the *diwani*, on the 3rd Jumada-l awwal, 974 H. he began his march. In ten days he reached Dehli, and went to visit the shrines of the saints who there repose, and bestowed his royal bounty on the poor and needy. From thence he proceeded by regular marches to Sirhind. He was greatly pleased with the *bazars* of this town, and commended Hafiz Rakhna, who was the *shikkdar*, and placed the *sarkardari* of that place in his charge. After crossing the Jumna, he received intelligence of the flight of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, but he went on joyfully to Lahore. Upon approaching the city, the great *amirs*, who had exhibited their loyalty and devotion, came forth to meet him, and received distinguished marks of royal favour. In the month of Rajab he arrived at Lahore, the *daru-s saltanat*, and took up his abode in the house of Mahdi Kasim Khan, in the citadel. By command of His Majesty, Kutbu-d din Muhammad Khan, and Kamal Khan Gakhar went in pursuit of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and advanced beyond the *pargana* of Bahra. There they learnt that the Mirza had crossed the Indus, so they returned.

When Mirza Muhammad Hakim heard that Mirza Sulaiman had gone back to Badakhshan, he made haste to Kabul. It has been related in a former page how Mirza Sulaiman left his daughters in his camp at Kabul, and went off in haste to seize upon Mirza Muhammad Hakim at Karabagh. Next day Muhammad Ma'sum Koka, whom Mirza Muhammad Hakim had left in command at Kabul, sent out a force to attack the besiegers' camp, and defeated them. Muhammad Kuli Shaghali, who was in command, gave up his baggage to plunder, and went off with the daughters of Mirza Sulaiman to Chahar-diwar Bagh, a place in the vicinity, and there entrenched himself. The Kabul forces surrounded the place, and sought to make him and Mirza

Sulaiman's daughters their prisoners; but Ma'sum Koka, considering it unseemly to make prisoners of the ladies, recalled his men. Mirza Sulaiman returned unsuccessful from Karabagh, and again laid siege to Kabul, but Ma'sum Koka had grown bold and daring. Every day he sent out parties of men, and sorely troubled the besiegers. The weather grew very cold, so Mirza Sulaiman became desirous of peace. Ma'sum Koka was aware of his distress, and was anxious to fight, so he would not make peace. Finally, Mirza Sulaiman sent in Kazi Khan Badakhshi, who had been tutor of Ma'sum Koka, and prevailed upon him to send the Mirza's small present. Peace was thus made. The Mirza first sent on his wife, and then followed her to Badakhshan.

When the Imperial Court arrived at Lucknow, many of the *zamindars* of the country came in to pay their allegiance, and were graciously received. Those who were unable to come themselves sent their representatives with presents and offerings, and their assurances of loyalty. Among them, Muhammad Baki Tarkhan, son of Mirza 'Isa, ruler of Sindh, sent his ambassadors to Court, to say that his father, who had been one of the dependents of the Imperial throne, was dead, and that he, the successor, considered himself among the vassals of the Emperor. Sultan Mahmud, the governor (*wali*) of the fort, supported by the Kazilbashis of Kandahar, was making attacks upon his territories, and he therefore besought the Emperor to prevent these molestations. In compliance with this application, the Emperor sent a *farman* to Sultan Mahmud, directing him to keep within his own boundaries, and not to attack the territories of Mahmmad Baki.

During the stay at Lahore, a letter arrived from Agra, from Mu'nim Khan Khan-khanan, with the intelligence that the sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza and Ulugh Mirza, by name Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Husain Mirza, and Shah Mirza who held *jagirs* in the *sarkar* of Sambal, had broken out in rebellion. And when he, Khan-khanan, had marched as far as Delhi to punish them, they had heard of his approach and had gone off towards Mandu. This Muhammad Sultan Mirza was son of Wis

Mirza, son of Mankara Mirza, son of Mansur, son of Mankara, son of 'Umar Shaikh, son of Amir Timur Gurgan *Sahib-kiran*. His mother was a daughter of Sultan Husain Mirza After the death of Sultan Husain Mirza, he came to the Court of the Emperor Babar, and was honourably received. The Emperor Humayun also treated him with consideration during the days of his reign. His sons, Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, were also in the service of Humayun. These men had several times been guilty of rebellious actions, and their offences had been forgiven. Ulugh Beg was killed in an attack upon the Hazara country, and Shah Mirza was killed by the arrows of robbers in the pass of Ma'mura, about ten *parasangs* from Kabul. Ulugh Beg left two sons, Sultan Muhammad Mirza and Sikandar Mirza. His Majesty (Humayun) treated them kindly, and to Sikandar Mirza he gave the title of Ulugh Mirza, and to Sultan Muhammad Mirza the title of Shah Mirza. When the Emperor Akbar succeeded to the throne, Muhammad Sultan Mirza had grown old, so he was excused service, and the *pargana* of 'Azampur, in Sambal, was settled upon him for his maintenance. Several sons were born to him in his old age—Ibrahim Husain Mirza, Muhammad Husain Mirza, and 'Akil Husain Mirza. To every one of these the Emperor gave suitable *jagirs*, and advanced them to the dignity of *amirs*. They were constantly in attendance upon His Majesty, rendering their services. When the Emperor returned from his Jaunpur compaign, they repaired to their *jagirs*, and remained in Sambal. But when His Majesty went to Lahore, to repress the attempt of Mirza Muhammad Hakim, Ulugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, in concert with their uncles Ibrahim Husain and Mirza Muhammad Husain, broke out into rebellion, and attacked several *parganas*. But the *jagirdars* of the neighbourhood gathered together and attacked them, so that they had to fly to Malwa, as will be related in the sequel.

## TWELFTH YEAR OF THE REIGN

The beginning of this year corresponded with Monday, 2nd Ramzan, 974 H. (12th Feb., 1567). At the beginning of this

year, which was near the *Nauroz*, His Majesty determined to go out for a *Kamurgha*[273] hunt. An order was issued to all the great *amirs* for forty miles round Lahore to drive the animals together into a large plain, situated about five *kos* from Lahore. Accordingly the *amirs*, under the direction of Mir Muhammad Atka, drove together about fifteen thousand animals, deer, *nil-gaos*, jackals, foxes, etc., into that plain. The extent of this hunting ground was five *kos* on every side, and the Emperor's tent (*kasar*), which he used in his campaigns, was brought here and set up. The *amirs* and the *khans* daily drew their lines closer, and narrowed the circle. When several days had passed in this sport, His Majesty graciously gave his attendants permission to shoot, and afterwards made the permission general, so that there was no soldier or any person who did not get several kinds of game. After the sport was over, the Emperor returned towards the city, and on reaching the river of Lahore, he plunged into the river on horseback and swam over. Of the attendants who followed His Majesty, Khush-khabr Khan, *Yasawal*, and Mir Muhammad, son of Sher Muhammad Kurdar, were drowned. While the hunt was going on, Hamid Bakri, one of the most favoured equerries (*yasawal*), having drunk too much, had wounded one of the Emperor's attendants with an arrow. This person found an opportunity in the course of the hunting to complain to the Emperor, who ordered Kalij Khan to strike off the offender's head. Kalij Khan used a sword, which broke with the blow, without doing the culprit any harm. When the Emperor saw this, he respited him, but had him exposed to public derision.

About this time Muzaffar Khan, who had been left in charge of the *diwani* at Agra, proceeded to the camp of the Emperor, along with Wazir Khan, brother of Asaf Khan, and joined it while he was out on the hunting excursion. The author's father, who had remained behind at Agra on government business,

[273] *Kamurgha, a Turki word for a great 'battue' in which the game is driven into a centre by a large circle of beaters.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii.; pp. 354, 421.*

accompanied Muzaffar Khan on this journey, and I, the author of this work, went along with my father. In fine, the Emperor forgave the offences of Asaf Khan and Wazir Khan and admitted the latter to an audience. A command was given that Asaf Khan, along with Majnun Khan Kakshal, should go to Karra-Manikpur, and provide for the safety of the dependent territories.

Intelligence now arrived that Ali Kuli Khan, Bahadur Khan, and Sikandar Khan had again broken their engagements, and risen in rebellion.[274] Hereupon the Emperor placed their *vakil* Mirza Mirak Rizwi in custody of Khan Baki Khan, and leaving the direction of the affairs of the Panjab in the charge of Mir Muhammad Khan and all the Atkas, on the 12th Ramazan, 974 H. ( 22nd March, 1567 ), he started on his return to Agra.

When the Emperor arrived at Thanesar, there was an assemblage of *Jogis* and *Sannyasis* on the banks of a lake called Kurkhet. This is a sacred place of the *brahmans,* and on occasion of eclipses the people of Hindustan flock thither from all parts to bathe. There was a great assemblage there on this occasion, and the people were bestowing their gifts of gold and silver, and jewels and stuffs, upon the *brahmans.* Many of them threw themselves into the water, and the *Jogis* and *Sannyasis*[275] were gathering a rich harvest from their charity. In consequence of a feud which existed between these two sects, they came to the Emperor, seeking permission to settle it by fighting. The *Sanyasis* were between two and three hundred in number, and the *Jogis,* who wear only rags, were over five hundred. When the adversaries stood ready to begin the fray, by the Emperor's order, some soldiers smeared their persons with ashes, and went to support the *Sannyasis,* who were the weaker party. A fierce fight ensued, and many were killed. The Emperor greatly enjoyed the sight. At length the *Jogies* were defeated, and the *Sannyasis* were the victors.

[274] *They had caused the 'khutba' to be read in the name of Mirza Muhammad Hakim.—'Akbar-nama', vol. ii., p. 359.*

[275] *Abu-l Fazl says the two sects were called "Gurs and Puris" ('Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 361); and he also speaks of the pleasure that Akbar derived from witnessing the fight.*

When the Imperial camp reached Dehli, Mirza Mirak Rizwi, who had been left in the charge of Khan Baki Khan, made his escape, and although the Khan pursued him, he did not succeed in recapturing him, and so, being apprehensive of the Emperor's displeasure, he himself fled. Tatar Khan, the governor of Dehli, reported that Muhammad Amin Diwana,[276] who had fled from Lahore, had gone to the house of Shahab Khan Turkoman, where he stayed some days, and after obtaining from him pecuniary assistance and a horse, had gone off to join the insurgents. This greatly incensed the Emperor, and he directed Shah Fakhru-d din Meshhedi to apprehend Shahab Khan. When the Emperor was encamped at the village of Palwal,[277] Shahab Khan was brought in for punishment, and was there executed.

Upon arriving at Agra, the Emperor was informed that Khan-zaman was besieging the fort of Shergarh, four *kos* distant from Kanauj, in which fort Mirza Yusuf Khan was shut up. Nineteen days after his arrival at Agra, the Emperor left Khan-khanan in charge of the city, and on Monday, the 23rd Shawwal, 974 H., marched towards Jaunpur. When he reached the *pargana* of Saket, 'Ali Kuli Khan decamped from before Shergarh, and fled to his brother Bahadur Khan, who was in Manikpur. The royal camp was next pitched near the town of Bhojpur and the Emperor detached Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas, Muzaffar Khan, Raja Todar Mal, Shah Bidagh Khan and his son 'Abdu-l Matlab Hasan Khan, 'Adil Muhammad, Khwaja Ghiyasu-d din 'Ali *Bakhshi*, and other officers, with nearly 6,000 horse, against Sikandar, who was in Oudh. He himself continued his march towards Manikpur.

When he reached the *pargana* of Rai Bareilly, he learnt that 'Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan had crossed the Ganges with the object of proceeding towards Kalpi.[278] He then

[276] *He had made an attempt upon the life of one of the Imperial generals and was condemned to death; but his punishment was commuted for the bastinado and imprisonment He received the corporal punishment and escaped next day.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 358.*

[277] *Half way between Dehli and Muttra.*

[278] *The 'Akbar-nama' (Vol. ii., p. 366) says "Gwalior."*

directed his camp to proceeded under the command of Khwaja Jahan to the fort of Karra, and then marched with all possible speed to the ferry of Manikpur.[279] There he crossed the river upon the back of an elephant, and from 1,000 to 1,500 men swam the river along with him. Majnun Khan and Asaf Khan, who were in advance, constantly sent back intelligence of the enemy. It so happened that 'Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan had occupied themselves all the night in wine-drinking and licentiousness and were heedless of everything else. The war-like demonstrations against them they attributed to the daring of Majnun Khan, and would not believe that the Emperor was near at hand.

On Sunday, the 1st Zi-l hijja, the Emperor made his dispositions for action. He himself took command of the centre. Asaf Khan and all the Atkas[280] were on the right; Majnun Khan and other *amirs* were on the left. This day His Majesty rode an elephant called Balsundar and Mirza Koka, who bore the title of 'Azam Khan, was seated in the *howda* with him. The enemy, being now fully aware of the Emperor's advance, prepared themselves for death. They drew out their forces, and sent a body of men to oppose the advanced guard of the Emperor.[281] Baba Khan Kakshal, who commanded the advance, repulsed them and drove them back upon the lines of 'Ali Kuli Khan. In the confusion, the horse of one of the fugitives ran against the horse of 'Ali Kuli Khan, and the Khan's turban fell off. Bahadur Khan saw this, and his spirit being roused, he made a bold charge upon the advanced guard under Baba Khan, Bahadur Khan in the pursuit came between these two forces. He fought manfully, but his horse, being wounded by an arrow, became unmanageable, and he was thrown to the ground and made prisoner.

[279] *There had been heavy rains: the country was flooded, and the river much swollen.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 366.*

[280] *The word "Atkas" is taken from Badauni (vol. ii., p. 96). The name used in the MSS. of the 'Tabakat' is doubtful.*

[281] *Only 500 men and 500 elephants had managed to keep up with the Emperor. The rest followed and took part in the fight as they arrived.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 368.*

As the battle grew hot, the Emperor alighted from his elephant and mounted a horse. Then he gave orders for the elephants to be driven against the lines of 'Ali Kuli Khan. There was among them an elephant named Hiranand, and when he approached the ranks of the enemy, they let loose against him an elephant called Diyana; but Hiranand gave him such a butt, that he fell upon the spot. 'Ali Kuli Khan received a wound from an arrow, and while he was engaged in drawing it out, another arrow struck his horse. The animal became restive, and 'Ali Kuli Khan also was thrown. An elephant named Narsing now came up, and was about to crush him, when 'Ali Kuli Khan cried out to the driver, "I am a great man; if you take me alive to the Emperor, he will reward you." The driver paid no heed to his words, but drove the animal over him and crushed him under foot. When the field was cleared of the enemy, Nazar Bahadur placed Bahadur Khan behind him on a horse, and conducted him to the presence of the Emperor. By the efforts of the *amirs* he was put to death. After a little while, the head of 'Ali Kuli Khan-zaman was also brought.[282] The Emperor then alighted from his horse, and returned thanks for this victory. This battle was fought at the village of Mankarwal, one of the dependencies of Josi and Payag, now known as Illahabas, on Monday, the 1st Zi-l hijja, 974 H.

While the Emperor was on his campaign against Khan-zaman, the author's father remained at Agra, in the performance of his duty to the Emperor, and the author himself was at Agra with him. Every day turbulent and designing men spread disastrous news. One day I said to one of my companions, "Suppose we set some favourable reports afloat?" and he asked what we should say, and I replied, "Let us say that news has come that they are bringing in the heads of Khan-zaman and Bahadur Khan." I told this story to several persons. Three days afterwards 'Abdu-lla, son of Murad Beg, brought in the

[282] *His death being doubted, a reward was offered for every head. His head was then brought in and recognized.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 371.*

heads of Khan-zaman and Bahadur Khan. The rumour was started in Agra on the very day they were slain.[283]

When the Emperor's mind was relieved from all apprehensions about his adversaries, he proceeded to Josi and Payag, and there rested two days. Some persons, who had deserted the royal army to join 'Ali Kuli Khan, were here brought in, and were handed over to keepers. He then proceeded to Benares.[284] Every follower of 'Ali Kuli Khan who came forward and was submissive to the Emperor's power was pardoned. From Benares he went to Jaunpur, and remained three days in sight of that city. Some of 'Ali Kuli Khan's men, who had escaped from the battle-field and fled to Jaunpur, were all forgiven and kindly treated. From thence he went, attended by four or five persons, and, by rapid travelling, in the course of three days, he reached the Ganges, at the ferry of Karra and Manikpur, where there was a camp. Crossing the river in a boat, he went and rested in the fortress. Then he wrote to Mu'nim Khan Khan-khanan, summoning him from Agra.

Several *jagirdars* of the Eastern province paid their respects, and were dismissed with honour. Some men of 'Ali Kuli's army, who were prisoners and always intent upon creating a disturbance, such as Khan Kuli Uzbek, Yar 'Ali and Mirza Beg Kakshal, people of Majnun 'Ali Khan, Khushhal Beg one of the guards of the late Emperor Humayun, Mir Shah Badakhshi, and other mal-contents, met with a terrible fate.[285] Mirza Mirak Rizwi Meshhedi, the *vakil* of 'Ali Kuli Khan, who had

[283] *Abu-l Fazl tells a similar story of his father. He says that while the Emperor was on this campaign, the hopes of the disaffected rose to the highest pitch, and Mu'nim Khan, who was in charge of the capital, was sorely troubled. In his perplexity, he consulted Shaikh Mubarak, who predicted that the heads of the rebels would be brought in.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 373.*

[284] *The people of Benares had closed their gates, so orders were given for plundering the city.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 373*

[285] *Trampled to death by elephants—'T. Alfi.' Badauni informs us (vol. ii., p. 100) that Kazi Tawaisi, the Kazi of the Imperial camp, gave it as his opinion that the execution of these prisoners and the seizure of their property were unlawful. For this independent judgment he was dismissed.*

fled from Court to join the latter, was taken prisoner on the day of battle, and was ordered to be cast under the feet of an elephant. But the elephant merely rubbed him with his trunk, and finally, in virtue of his being a *saiyid*, his crime was forgiven.

Khan-khanan, who had been summoned from Agra, now waited upon His Majesty, and was invested with the care and government of the *jagirs* of 'Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan in Jaunpur, Benares, Ghazipur, the fort of Chunar and Zamaniya, as far as the ferry of Chaunsa. He also received a present of a splendid robe, and of a horse. In the midst of the rainy season, in Zi-l hijja, 974, the Emperor began his homeward march, and in Muharram, 975, arrived at Agra.

It has been previously mentioned that Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlaś and Muzaffar Khan were sent with a force against Sikandar, and went towards Oudh. On hearing of their approach, Sikandar took refuge in a fort.[286] The royal forces came up and laid siege to the fort. Sikandar was already hard pressed, when the news arrived of the destruction of 'Ali Kuli Khan and Bahadur Khan. This greatly disprited the Uzbeks, and they sent men to Muhammad Kuli and Muzaffar Khan, to treat for peace. Having thus engaged the commanders in negotiations, Sikandar evacuated the fort by the gate towards the river, and embarked in boats. As he had all the boats, the Imperial generals were unable to cross the river. Sikandar again sent a message to them, declaring that he was quite ready to keep the engagement he had made, but his men were suspicious. He therefore requested that thay would come out in a boat to the middle of the river, and he would meet them with two or three persons and settle the terms. This would satisfy his men, and they would proceed together to Court. Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas, Muzaffar Khan, and Raja Todar Mal agreed to this proposition, and went out to the middle of the stream. Sikandar Khan, on the other side, came out with two or three persons, and had the interview.[287] The *amirs* promised

[286] *The fort of Oudh.—Badauni, vol. ii., p. 101.*

[287] *Abu-l Fazl places this conference after Sikandar's escape, and*

to sue for the pardon of Sikandar, and swore that they would make no attack on the lives or property of him or his men. Upon this agreement, they separated, and each party went to his own side.

Sikandar then made two days' march, and wrote to the *amirs,* stating that the rise of the waters had prevented his staying on the banks of the river. On hearing of his departure, the *amirs* went after him. When they reached Gorakhpur, they discovered that he had crossed the river and gone off. The country before them belonged to the Afghans, into which they could not enter without the order of the Emperor. They wrote a statement of the position to Court, and received an answer to the effect, that as Sikandar had left the Imperial territory, it was unnecessary to pursue him. His estates and *jagirs* were given to Muhammad Kuli Khan Birlas. The *amirs* on being acquainted with the contents of the letter, left Muhammad Kuli Khan, and returned to Court.

## CONQUEST OF THE FORT OF CHITOR[288]

Many *zamindars* and *rajas* of Hindustan had become subjects of the Imperial throne. But Rana Udi Singh, Raja of Mewar, confident in the strength of his fortresses, and the number of his men and elephants, had thrown off his allegiance. Now that the Emperor had returned to the capital, with his mind at rest in respect of 'Ali Kuli Khan and other rebels, he turned his attention towards the capture of Chitor. He accordingly began to make preparations for the campaign. The *pargana* of Bayana was taken from Haji Muhammad Khan Sistani, and given in *jagir* to Asaf Khan, who was ordered to proceed thither, and collect provisions and materials for the army. The Emperor followed to the town of Bari, with the avowed intention of hunting, and there killed a thousand animals in sport. Then he ordered his army to be brought up, and proceeded onwards

*says that he demanded the restoration of his 'jagir' and offices, and acted in a very false and unworthy manner.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 377.*

[288] *See 'supra.'*

to Mu-maidana. When he reached the fort of Supar,[289] he found that, hearing of his approach, the men who garrisoned that fort for Rai Surjan of Rantambhor, and abandoned it and fled to Rantambhor. The fort was placed in charge of Nazar Bahadur, one of the Imperial adherents. From thence he went to Kota, one of the *parganas* of that country, of which he made Shah Muhammad Khan Kandahari the governor. Next he marched to Gagrun,[290] on the borders of Malwa.

Mirza Ulugh and Mirza Shah, sons of Muhammad Sultan Mirza, had fled from Sambal, and had come into these parts, where they had begun a revolt, which the Emperor deemed it necessary to suppress. He therefore appointed Shahabu-d din Ahmad Khan, Shah Bidagh Khan, Muhammad Murad Khan, and Haji Muhammad Sistani to *jagirs* in Mandu, and charged them with that duty. When the *amirs* reached Ujjain, which is one of the chief places in that country, they found that the Mirzas, on hearing of the Emperor's approach, had assembled together and fled to Gujarat, to Changiz Khan, the ruler of that country, who had been one of the adherents of Sultan Mahmud Gujarati. So the *amirs* obtained possession of Mandu without opposition.

When the Emperor marched from Gagrun, Rana Udi Singh left seven or eight thousand men to hold Chitor, under the command of a Rajput named Jai Mal, a valiant chief, who had fought against Mirza Sharafu-d din Husain, in the fort of Mirtha, as before related. The Rana himself, with all his relatives and dependents, took refuge in the hills and jungles.

The fort of Chitor is seated on a hill, which is about one *kos* in height, and has no connexion with any other hill. The length of the fortress is three *kos*, and the width half a *kos*. It contains plenty of running water. Under His Majesty's orders, the ground round the fort was portioned out among the different *amirs*.

289 *Or "Siwi-Supar".—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 381. "Sheopoor," 120 miles S.W. of Agra.*

290 *Near the junction of the Ahu and Kali Sind in Kota.*

The royal forces were ordered to plunder and lay waste the country, and Asaf Khan was sent to Rampur,[291] a prosperous town of the province. He attacked and captured the fort, and ravaged all the neighbourhood. Husain Kuli Khan was sent with a detachment towards Udipur and Kombalmir,[292] which is one of the chief fortresses in that country, and is the residence of the Rana. He ravaged several towns and villages, but finding no trace of the Rana, he returned to the Imperial camp.

When the siege of Chitor had been carried on some time, the Emperor ordered the construction of *sabats*, and the digging of mines. About 5,000 builders and carpenters and stone-masons were collected, and began their work of constructing *sabats* on two sides of the forts. A *sabat* is a kind of wall which is begun at musket-shot distance (from the fort), and under the shelter of its planks strongly fastened together and covered with raw hides, a kind of way (*kucha*) is conducted to the fortress. The walls are then battered from it with guns, and a breach being made, the brave assailants rush into the fort. The *sabat* which was conducted from the royal battery (*morchal-i badshahi*) was so extensive that ten horsemen abreast could ride along it, and it was so high that an elephant-rider with his spear in his hand could pass under it.

While the *sabat* was in course of construction, the garrison kept up such a fire of guns and muskets, that more than 100 of the workmen and labourers employed in it were killed daily, although they covered themselves with shields of bull-hide. Corpses were used in the walls like bricks. In a short time, the *sabat* was completed, and carried close to the fort.

The miners also carried their mines to the foot of the walls, and having constructed mines under two bastions which were near together they filled them with gunpowder. A party of men of well-known bravery, fully armed and accoutred, approach-

[291] *About fifty miles S.E. from Chitor. Asaf Khan had previously reduced the fort of Mandal (the "Mundalour" of Malcom's map, ten miles S.E. of Gagrun?)—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., pp. 395, 396.*

[292] *Thirty-four miles N.W. of Udipur.*

ed the bastions, ready to rush into the fort as soon as a breach was made by the explosion of the mines. Fire was applied to both mines at the same time, but the match of one was shorter than the other, and that made the explosion first. The bastion was blown into the air, and a large breach was effected. The storming party at once rushed to the breach, and were about to enter, when the second mine exploded, and the bastion was blown up. Friends and foes, who were contending in the breach, were hurled into the air together, and those also on whom the stones fell perished. It is notorious that stones of 200 *mans* were carried to a distance of three or four *kos* from the walls, and bodies of men who had been burnt were found. Saiyid Jamalu-d din and . . . . and a great number of the Emperor's attendents, were slain, and nearly 500 picked soldiers were killed by blows from the stones. A large number also of the infidels perished.

After this disaster, the pride and solicitude of the Emperor became still more intent upon the reduction of the fortress. A *sabat* which had been laid down in the battery of Shuja'at Khan was now completed. On the night of Tuesday, 25th Sha'ban, 975 H., the Imperial forces assembled from all sides, and the wall being breached, a grand struggle began. Jai Mal, commander of the fortress, came into the breach to encourage his men. The Emperor was seated in a gallery, which had been erected for him on the *sabat*, and he had a musket in his hand. The face of Jai Mal was discernible by the light which was cast upon the spot by the fire of the guns and muskets. The Emperor took aim at him, and so wounded him that he died upon the spot. The garrison was disheartened by the fall of their leader, and each man hurried to his own home. They collected their wives and children, property and effects, in one place, and burnt them. This proceeding, in the language of the infidels of Hind, is called *Jauhor*. The royal forces were now massed, and they assaulted the breaches in several places. Many of the infidels rushed forward to defend them, and fought most valiantly. His Majesty, seated on the *sabat*, beheld the exertions of his men with an approving eye. 'Adil Muhammad Kanda-

hari...and others exhibited great valour and daring, and received great praise. All that night the fighting went on, but in the morning, which was a glorious morning, the place was subdued. The Emperor mounted on an elephant, and, attended by his devoted followers on foot, entered the fortress. An order for a general massacre was issued, and more than 8,000 Rajputs who were in the place received the reward of their deeds.[293] After noon the slaughter was stayed, and the Emperor returned tc his camp, where he remained three days. Asaf Khan was appointed to rule this country, and His Majesty started for the capital on Tuesday, the 25th Sha'ban.

A curious incident in this siege was this : A person was sitting near the battery of the author of this book, under the shelter of a tree, with his right hand placed upon his knee. As an opportunity presented itself, he raised his thumb, covered with the stall usually worn by archers, and just at that moment a gun was fired from the fortress, and the ball passed within the length of a barley corn from his thumb, and did him no harm.

When the Emperor started to effect the conquest of Chitor, he vowed that if he were successful, he would make a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwaja Mu'inu-d din Chishti, which is at Ajmir, and walked all the way on foot. On Sunday, the 7th Ramazan, he reached Ajmir. He performed all the observances of the pilgrimage, and made the poor and needy glad with his alms and offerings. He remained there ten days, and then departed for the capital.

END OF BART ONE

[293] *Abu-l Fazl states that the number of the slain amounted to near si hazar (30,000); but perhaps 'sih hazar,'* 3,000 *is meant.—'Akbar-nama,' vol. ii., p. 407. See 'supra'.*

*Additions And Corrections*

Page 68. Note 126. *For Khalifatu l-llah,* read "*Khalifatu-llah.*"

Page 96, note 200. Sistan, or Sijistan, makes its adjective Sijizi, and although the text has Sanjari, there is no doubt Sijizi is the right word.